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The fate of ethnography : native social science in the English-speaking Caribbean

Reviews the research tradition in the social sciences in the post-War Anglophone Caribbean.

Painting a general picture of the intellectual climate in the social sciences divisions of the UWI,

Carnegie concludes that most studies have dealt with economic and macro-sociological topics.

Moreover, there has been a consistent emphasis on the larger nations of the British Caribbean.

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## THE FATE OF ETHNOGRAPHY: NATIVE SOCIAL SCIENCE IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

This essay is as much concerned with the history and sociology of ideas – the practice, in the English-speaking Caribbean, of social science itself – as it is with nationalism, and the stultifying effect which that construction can have on thought.<sup>1</sup>

The twenty-first anniversary celebrations of the University of the West Indies' Faculty of Social Sciences in 1983 yielded some important reflections on the nature of social science practice in the region, and at the Mona campus of the university in particular. In that self-reflective, celebratory ritual, the review by Professor George Beckford of the somewhat acrimonious transition to a more Caribbean-centered economics, and the recounting by Professor Carl Stone of his own personal struggle, within the scholarly fraternity and in the wider polity, to have opinion polls become accepted, both stand out for their frankness in portraying some of the pain involved in building a local social science tradition (Beckford 1984, Stone 1984). Other prominent local social scientists also took part and helped shed light on aspects of that evolutionary process. Their contributions can be found in two special issues of the journal, *Social and Economic Studies*, published in 1984. This useful process of self-scrutiny gained momentum with the establishment of the Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences in 1985. The recently published collection of papers, *Rethinking development*, demonstrates the profitable directions that this self-reflection has taken within the Consortium. It is in this spirit that I would like to start to review the use of ethnography in British Caribbean social science practice over the past forty years or so.

First, a few words of clarification about the title. The essay pretends nei-

ther to encompass all of the English-speaking Caribbean, nor all of social science production, nor yet all of the many ethnographic accounts about the region. Rather, by selecting one institutional center of social science scholarship in one corner of the region and surveying the dominant currents of writing that have come out of it over four decades – omissions and commissions – the essay attempts to show with what restrictive narrowness the boundaries of appropriate subject matter and methodology have been drawn. By working with a “Caribbean” narrowly conceived in one scholarly tradition, the essay points the way, implicitly, to more embracing conceptions and to more venturesome patterns of thought.

By ethnography, I intend to signal that method of discovery characterized by extended periods of fieldwork that call for a sharing of activities and ideas between social scientist and informants, as well as intimate first-hand experience of community life – in short, participant-observation. While ethnography has developed largely within the discipline of social anthropology, part of my aim is to suggest that its use, and the use of research based on it, need not be restricted to anthropologists. For purposes of this discussion, I take native Caribbean social science to be the pursuit of research on Caribbean societies, in a variety of scholarly disciplines, by people born and residing in the British Caribbean and working largely through the University of the West Indies. The University’s Faculty of Social Sciences, with its research arm, the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER), and journal, *Social and Economic Studies*, are used as a convenient point of focus.

The Institute of Social and Economic Research, and the University of the West Indies itself, like so many others of the region’s public institutions, was formed and nurtured in a colonial matrix. This mutual interdependence of scholarship on the one hand, and colonial policy and administration on the other, grows out of a robust tradition, one that, paradoxically, became more firmly rooted in those more recently settled colonies – in India and Africa, for instance – than in older ones.<sup>2</sup> With detached, post-colonial style, Saberwal (1982:37) writes of anthropology:

It was as part of the ‘external encounter’ of the British, with people over whom they established dominion, that systematic social enquiry, as an overt routine to the framing and conduct of social policy, made its debut in India.

While less routine in the case of colonial administration in the British Caribbean, the beginnings of official sponsorship of social scientific research there owes in part to changing views about the methods of colonial rule being formulated in other parts of the Empire. Research on “native” social life (now that word in its other guise) took on greater interest insofar as it

might assist in the conduct of indirect rule. But it also was put into service to help understand the underlying causes of social unrest in different parts of the Empire, and to help formulate policies to address them, particularly in the years leading up to and during the Second World War when Britain became rather more sensitive to its international image.

The establishment of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute in Northern Rhodesia in 1937, then in 1940, of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act that funded the Colonial Social Science Research Council (CSSRC), formalized government support for social science research in the colonies. These were the immediate precursors of the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Mona, set up in 1948 at the same time that the University College itself was established. Indeed, the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute became the model, in some sense, for several social science research institutes in different parts of the Empire; while funding from the CSSRC provided budgetary support for these satellite institutions. At the Rhodes-Livingstone, the research staff was largely comprised of social anthropologists, part of a tight network that was closely tied in with teaching and research programs in anthropology at leading English universities.<sup>3</sup> Anthropologists also played a significant role in the Colonial Social Science Research Council in its early years.

Reflecting the deepening relationship between imperial policy and intellectual pursuit, the teaching of anthropology was initiated at several colonial universities. In India, for example, teaching in sociology and anthropology at universities in Calcutta, Bombay, and Lucknow, started late in the first quarter of this century, while in the Sudan (a country that provided rich fodder for anthropologists from the early part of the century) university teaching in the subject started in 1958 (e.g. Saberwal 1982, Abdel Ghaffar 1982).

Aspiring native-born West Indian anthropologists – like their colleagues in medicine, law and other fields – had no option but to journey to Britain for training in the field. But at least three of them who did so, Fernando Henriques, who studied with Meyer Fortes, Edith Clarke, who attended Malinowski's famous seminar in the 1940s, and Michael G. Smith, who studied with Daryll Forde, were beginning to establish solid reputations for themselves even as the University College of the West Indies was in its fledgling stages.

#### THE EARLY YEARS OF THE ISER

The Institute of Social and Economic Research provided an academic cen-



ter for thinking and research in the social sciences of the British Caribbean in the 1950s. Its core research staff included both native-born and non-native scholars. Dudley Huggins, the institute's first Director, was Guyanese-born; other native Caribbean research fellows of the period included Michael Smith, Lloyd Brathwaite, Ray Chang, Gloria Cumper, Clive Thomas, George Roberts, George Eaton, and Lloyd Best. Their colleagues, most of whom came originally either from Britain or the United States, included: George Cumper, Nora Siffleet, W.F. Maunder, David Edwards, K.H. Straw, and, for shorter stints, such scholars as Talcott Parsons, Kenneth Boulding, Dudley Seers, Sidney Mintz, and George Eaton Simpson.

The group had a healthy complement of people whose main discipline of training was either economics or social anthropology; but it also included in fewer numbers demographers, statisticians, political scientists, and social welfare specialists.

From all accounts, discussion at the ISER was lively, collegial and constant. The mid-morning coffee-hour was established as an institutional fixture, and there were regular seminars at which members of staff and visitors presented and had opportunities to discuss each other's work. One anthropologist recalls with affection his usual break-of-dawn intellectual sparring sessions with an economist colleague before they each would settle in to their habitual early morning work routines.

Anthropology, but more importantly, work grounded in ethnographic fieldwork, informed and enlivened these discussions both in conversation and in print. By the early to mid-1950s there was a growing body of published work based on primary ethnographic research compelling that Caribbean socio-cultural systems be taken seriously rather than be dismissed, as had been the case before, for their seemingly disjointed and impoverished character. Earlier folklore studies and the pioneering work of Melville and Frances Herskovits were being copiously supplemented by the research of Julian Steward's students in Puerto Rico, Fernando Henriques, Edith Clarke, and George Simpson in Jamaica, Raymond T. Smith, and later Chandra Jayawardena in Guyana, and Michael Smith in Jamaica, Carriacou, and Grenada.<sup>4</sup>

Many of these young scholars were based at or passed through the ISER for varying periods of time during the 1950s. And there were several other anthropologists-in-training for whom the Institute provided a base during their fieldwork: these included Lambros Comitas, Yehudi Cohen, William Davenport, and Edward Seaga. The Department of Anthropology at Yale sent several young graduate students to Jamaica for their early fieldwork experience during these years and they too formed part of the ISER's outer circle.

As part of its bid for international recognition, the Institute had constituted a formidable multidisciplinary panel of fourteen prominent social scientists to serve on the editorial advisory board of its journal, *Social and Economic Studies*. While members of the advisory board apparently were more ornamental than functional, it is, nevertheless, significant to note that the panel included three internationally prominent anthropologists: Raymond Firth, Meyer Fortes, and Max Gluckman, himself a former Director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

In relation to the wider social milieu, however, it is important to recognize that the newly formed University, and its Institute of Social and Economic Research, were inserted into an already existing intellectual community – albeit one with minimal institutional support structures. To simplify what is in fact a far more complex story, there had developed in the 1930s and 1940s a lively intellectual discourse on the arts and in the broad area of political economy. In Jamaica, much of the thinking about issues of social development coalesced around Jamaica Welfare, a non-governmental organization founded by Norman Manley in the late 1930s, and funded by an export cess on bananas provided by the United Fruit Company. The organization brought together several of the country's finest young minds to grapple on both the theoretical and practical levels with issues of community development. The intense ferment, and the reflection through trial and error, led to the implementation, in selected villages and towns across the island, of a development strategy based largely on consultation within the village community. The Jamaica Welfare representative was expected to act merely as an intermediary and facilitator of these discussions, and the community itself was expected to provide many of the resources to carry out the programs they had agreed to. During this same period, the political and labor unrest of the late 1930s had prodded the British government into providing far greater resources for both the investigation of the causes of social discontent, and for welfare policies to ameliorate them.

These twin processes of study and administrative response that were taking place in Jamaica Welfare and in government, provided a few salaried positions from which some members of the local intelligentsia could indulge their concerns with the poor and with issues of development. Edith Clarke, for example, was Administrative Secretary of the Board of Supervision, the department responsible for dispensing poor relief benefits in the colony, before she went on to study for the diploma in anthropology at the London School of Economics. And she returned to her administrative post thereafter, writing up her influential *My mother who fathered me* from this less than dazzling academic base.

So that while the ISER provided a center for discussions in the social

sciences, and drew in for its seminars from time to time people thinking about the same issues but operating from elsewhere – people such as Edith Clarke, the historian H.P. Jacobs, or the social worker/economist, Mae Farquharson – it did not have a monopoly either on discourse or financial support for these intellectual energies. Nor was it solely responsible for initiating them. Interviews with ISER research staff of the period indicate that Clarke seldom visited or formed part of the ISER circle, and that her seminal work was not taken seriously in that inner circle until after her book was published in 1957.

In the formulation of social welfare policy, however, Clarke's work, and that of the social psychologist Madeline Kerr who did fieldwork along with her in the late 1940s, exerted significant influence. Jamaican Governor, Sir Hugh Foot, later Lord Caradon, wrote an appreciative preface to the first edition of Clarke's book, giving it the highest official stamp of approval of the liberal colonial administration. But appreciation alone, without benefit of the security of a kind that an academic institution might provide, is never enough to ensure that the research interests pioneered by a scholar like Clarke can continue in succeeding generations.

Anthropology, then, with its capacity for revealing local systems of thought and modes of organization, was initially seen as central to social science discourse in the 1950s, both within the nascent academic community and in the formulation and implementation of policy. In subsequent decades, however, the discipline's influence, and the importance attached to ethnographic research in the other social sciences, waned markedly, becoming marginalized, as attention turned to the panacea that development economics appeared to offer.

#### SHIFTING INTERESTS

Professor Eddie Greene's contribution to the twenty-first anniversary celebrations of the Faculty of Social Sciences acknowledges this widespread neglect of ethnography. Yet he is far more sanguine in his assessment of a budding interest in micro-level studies from the mid-1970s onwards, and more unwilling to acknowledge the part that mainstream social science in the region has played in marginalizing this kind of inquiry, than I am (Greene 1984:22-24).

One revealing measure of the reverse suffered by anthropology, and the neglect of ethnography as a tool in Caribbean social science practice, is the relative concentration of articles published in the Institute's main organ, *Social and Economic Studies*, broken down into disciplines of study. Tables

1 and 2 summarize the results of a content analysis of the articles published by the journal over a period of four decades.<sup>5</sup> The disaggregation into disciplines is, admittedly, an unhappy contrivance in that it neither reflects the productive dialogue between social science disciplines that has characterized Caribbean social science practice (cf. Sankatsing 1989), nor does it represent the intent of my own concern to nudge that process of interpenetration further along by urging the more widespread use of ethnographic methodologies. Nevertheless, it does unmask the overbearing presence of one partner in what, from the journal's title (as well as from the seemingly egalitarian segmentation of departments in the Faculty it serves) might at first appear a happy marriage of social science specializations. The journal's first editor was the ISER's Director, H.D. Huggins, an economist by training. Articles on economic matters took on a position of dominance in its pages from the outset and have maintained that position ever since. As Table 1 shows, there was an almost threefold increase in the total number of articles published in the journal from the decade of the 1950s to that of the 1980s. The percentage of those articles that might generally be grouped under the rubric of economics not only held more or less constant but in the 1980s even increased, from 39.3% in the 1970s to 46.8%. By contrast, the percentage of articles on anthropology declined from 23.6% in the 1950s, to 13.1%, 3.5%, and 3.2% respectively in each succeeding decade. Given the expansion that the journal experienced, the absolute numbers are even more telling: while the total number of economics papers increased from 52 to 145 between the 1950s and the 1980s, the number of papers on anthropology decreased from 29 to 10. And within the field of anthropology, while some 18 of the published papers in the 1950s were based on primary ethnographic fieldwork, there were only 2 papers based on fieldwork published in the 1980s.

To some degree, the Euro-American disciplinary category "anthropology" here obscures the merger between sociology and anthropology that occurs in British Caribbean social science from the very beginning; the distinction is a colonial artefact and was recognized as such. The decline in publication of articles in the general area of sociology and anthropology is less precipitous if one adds these two rows in Table 1, but decline there still is. The combined totals for the two sub-fields decreases from 31.7% in the 1950s to 17.1% in the 1980s. Yet this merger, while accurately reflecting local categories, disguises the almost complete marginalization of ethnography as a tool of discovery in British Caribbean social science practice over the period. While it is not always possible to discern accurately the research methodology used merely from the title of an article, my guess is that very few if any of the papers grouped under the category "sociology" in Table 1 were based on primary ethnographic fieldwork.

TABLE 1. ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES* BY TOPICAL FIELD AND DECADE<sup>6</sup>

Topical field	1950s		1960s		1970s		1980s	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Economics	52	42.3	97	41.1	90	39.3	145	46.8
Anthropology/ ethnography	29	23.6	31	13.1	8	3.5	10	3.2
Demography & statistics	11	8.9	24	10.2	17	7.4	6	1.9
Sociology	10	8.1	15	6.4	36	15.7	43	13.9
Political sciences & political economy	9	7.3	17	7.2	29	12.7	24	7.7
Public administration	0	0.0	2	0.8	19	8.3	16	5.2
History	3	2.4	7	3.0	8	3.5	15	4.8
Education	1	0.8	22	9.3	5	2.2	4	1.3
Other	8	6.5	21	8.9	17	7.4	47	15.2
Total	123	100.0	236	100.0	229	100.0	310	100.0

For a variety of reasons, the group of scholars that had assembled in the ISER in the 1950s dispersed by the early 1960s: some, initially, to newly formed social science departments within the University of the West Indies, others further afield. The late 1950s and early 1960s was a period of great expansion for the university, coinciding with the tenure of the late Sir Arthur Lewis, the noted development economist, first as Principal, then as Vice Chancellor (cf. Sherlock & Nettleford 1990). First Economics, and shortly afterwards Sociology and Government, were established as separate departments within a new Faculty of Social Sciences. Members of the research fraternity in the ISER eagerly accepted more secure teaching appointments in the newly formed Faculty. Of the anthropologists, both M.G. Smith and Raymond Smith had left the Department of Sociology and the university by the mid-1960s. Moreover, the steady stream of visiting anthropology graduate students from Yale and elsewhere fell off significantly, depriving the ISER and the new departments of the stimulus of dialogue that would normally be expected from ethnographers mulling over the messy detail of fresh fieldwork.

Even as anthropology and ethnography began to face a crisis of reproduction within the university, economics was poised for yet further expansion. The cadre of young, native-born scholars trained in economics was growing in the ISER and the faculty of social sciences in the late 1950s and 1960s at

around the same time as the anthropologists were moving to senior professional appointments overseas. Moreover, economics, government, and sociology were all given departmental status with assured complements of faculty positions and the wherewithal to recruit and train undergraduate and graduate students, while anthropology – grouped as it was with sociology – had no guaranteed slate of positions or courses in the organization of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

Apart from the gross assertion of a disciplinary dominance in the case of economics, however, one detects a clear shift even within that discipline from a relatively greater concern with microeconomic questions amenable to being pursued ethnographically, to a more exclusive interest in the structure of the national and international economy. Articles representative of this fine-grained socio-economic tradition like those by Cumper on such varied issues as households *qua* economic units, labor productivity and the organization of sugar estates, or by David Edwards on Jamaican small farming, are rarely found in the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>7</sup> The young social scientists and their students had breathed deeply the heady air of Caribbean nationalism of the 1960s and had become both intoxicated and entrapped.

There was, correspondingly, greater reliance on published official statistical data, and less on going out to collect it in the field. For one thing, as one economist informant suggested, they could rely on a greater volume of material from the expanding data-gathering agencies of the national bureaucracy. But besides this, as another informant countered, the boom years of the 1960s, with increases in revenue from tourism and bauxite in Jamaica, for instance, encouraged a certain complacency that “everything was coming out all right.”

Interest in an approach to development from the local community upwards, an interest exemplified by Jamaica Welfare, shifted, by the 1960s – as native-born politicians assumed full control of government – to a near preoccupation with the manipulation of economic forces from the center. The waning interest in a social science methodology particularly revealing of local-level processes was almost inevitable, given the promise of more centralized approaches and the prospect of continuous economic expansion.

#### WHO IS BEING REPRESENTED?

The earliest issues of *Social and Economic Studies*, briefly set out the ISER's charter, inscribing by name each of the British colonies of the West Indies, and promising, in the tradition of grand exploration not unfamiliar

to this region, that these would be the "communities of primary concern for study." Table 2 begins to tell a story of benign neglect all too reminiscent of the colonial condition itself.

For all its fearsome radicalism in the mind of the local middle class, native British Caribbean social science has rarely strayed from imperial example in its delineation of appropriate research terrain. While there have been a smattering of articles in the journal over the years on Puerto Rico, Haiti, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and neighboring Latin America, most have focused on the English-speaking Caribbean. Not even ideological infatuation – as in the case of the Jamaican regard for Cuba in the 1970s – has been sufficient to overcome the provincialism of language. In four decades, by my count, the journal published only six articles on Cuba, the region's most populated country.

TABLE 2. ARTICLES PUBLISHED IN *SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES* BY GEOGRAPHICAL SPECIFICATION OF TITLE AND BY DECADE<sup>8</sup>

Geographical area	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s
Jamaica	31	43	51	72
Trinidad & Tobago	2	13	19	21
Barbados	6	5	10	15
Guyana	10	15	15	13
Antigua & Barbuda	1	2	0	0
Bahamas	1	4	2	5
Belize	0	1	0	4
Dominica	0	0	0	0
Grenada	1	2	0	3
Montserrat	1	0	0	0
St. Kitts & Nevis	1	0	2	0
St. Lucia	1	2	0	0
St. Vincent & Grenadines	0	1	0	1
Cuba	0	1	1	4
Haiti	2	3	2	2
Puerto Rico	3	8	7	2
Suriname	0	1	2	0
Other Caribbean	0	3	5	5
Indigenous & Maroon peoples	2	1	1	2
Other geographic regions	11	22	26	29
No geographic specification	25	68	50	56
Comparative	25	41	36	76
Total	123	236	229	310

But even more revealing has been the neglect of the smaller countries and dependencies of the region, including many of those that fall within the ISER's "communities of primary concern." In four decades the Institute's

journal has published very few articles on the islands of the Eastern Caribbean: Antigua, Dominica, St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Montserrat and others. The smallest social units like Anguilla, Barbuda, Bequia, and Nevis have fared even worse. By contrast, 22 %, or some 197 of the 898 articles in the four-decade survey of the journal, explicitly listed Jamaica (or some region thereof) in their titles. Admittedly, of the articles published, nearly 20 % are comparative in focus, and another 22 % are non-specific geographically. However, most of the comparisons are between the larger national units of the English-speaking Caribbean. Of the 76 articles classified as comparative in the 1980s, for instance, I could identify seven that made reference in their titles to territories other than the "big four." The neglect of the region's Maroon communities and remaining indigenous populations noted in the table, also indicates this tendency to further dispossess, in scholarly terms, the marginal components of Caribbean society.<sup>9</sup>

Diversity – of scale, of economic adaptation, of historical process – is one of the primary and most interesting features of the Caribbean. It seems fair to say, on the strength of this survey, that the myriad manifestations of diversity, and their implications, have largely been ignored in native British Caribbean social science practice. The social science community has tended to neglect people and places on the fringes of Caribbean society, and to privilege larger territorial units and its own disciplinary models.

In general, development economics as a discipline tends to be insouciant, even contemptuous, of variation at the local level.<sup>10</sup> For the Caribbean, Girvan (1991:2) admits as much, writing about the "'conventional radicalism' of the Caribbean left intelligentsia," when he points to the contradiction between:

...the immanent need to present a single, all-embracing paradigmatic view of the society – 'Plantation Society', 'The Poor and the Powerless', 'Corporate Imperialism' – and the increasingly complex, fluid, and differentiated reality that is the Caribbean.

Development economics having assumed a position of preeminence within the local social science community; the nation-state having gained almost unquestioned acceptance as the basic unit of analysis in the field of economics, as of course in political science; and the ISER being located in Jamaica – the pattern of increasing marginalization of peripheral people and places was almost inevitable. For the discipline of economics, it would appear that the people of Bequia or Barbuda neither engage in meaningful economic activity, nor can the study of such communities contribute to the formulation of social science theory or innovative development policy.<sup>11</sup>

Training in the social sciences at the University of the West Indies reinforces, and serves to reproduce in succeeding generations of scholars a nar-



rowness of vision that pictures the region in terms of its more powerful English-speaking units. The separation of disciplines by faculty, following the colonial model, remains a basic structural feature of the university. There is no "foreign" language requirement (in reality Papiamentu, Spanish, and French Creole are not foreign but native) for either undergraduate or graduate students in the social sciences, and there is little contact with the work of the Department of Linguistics, located administratively in the Faculty of Arts. So that while there has been fruitful dialogue across disciplines, through informal discourse in the early years of the ISER and in the New World Group of the 1960s, the necessity of this cross-fertilization has not been worked sufficiently into institutional structures.<sup>12</sup>

### MARGINALIZATION AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The nationalist preoccupation that gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s carried local social science along in its swell unprotesting.<sup>13</sup> Already inclined towards viewing their "world" from the vantage point of the center (Kingston, instead of either rural Hanover or more distant Anguilla), key practitioners were further persuaded by Marxism from any inclination to have theory informed by the close study of ordinary people living on their own "periphery." One countervailing Caribbean intellectual concern to explore (if even in somewhat romanticized fashion) the intricacies of "folk" life – a concern found in the novels of writers like C.L.R. James, Roger Mais, and Orlando Patterson, and that motivated to some degree the New World Group – ran into disfavor. Instead, the new wisdom emphasized the inevitability and the imperative of class struggle. Social engagement with life and people on the margins was to be applauded only insofar as it served to advance that "struggle" – whether by providing greater understanding of the process, by helping to instigate popular agitation, or by providing relevant Marxist education.

Paradoxically, anthropology itself, even if unwittingly, helped contribute to ethnography's eclipse. Discussions about the nature of Caribbean society initially prompted by ethnographic fieldwork and centered on formulations of the plural society model, and on kinship and family studies, were by the late 1960s generating more heat than light. Kinship studies, based as most were on the increasing accumulation of quantitative data using culturally inappropriate categories of investigation, had, as R.T. Smith argues in his more recent work, deteriorated into a greater and greater "refinement of error" (R.T. Smith 1988). To local scholars – perhaps somewhat impatient of the careful but extended period of ethnographic research that is now

yielding an understanding of kinship more grounded in local ideas – the debate on West Indian kinship in the early 1960s must have appeared, as one informant expressed it to me, an indulgence in “overseas controversies.” The plural society model, on the other hand, after having provoked important work by, and interest among, historians and other social scientists, proved unserviceable in capturing the dynamic quality of post-independence society or in advancing the nation-building process. And during this period of declining interest, anthropology was slow to generate other models or branches of investigation to take the place, or lead to a fruitful reconceptualization, of these older concerns.<sup>14</sup>

In part, this slowness to respond might be explained, in the case of anthropologists based outside of the Caribbean, by the more long-term process of sifting that ethnographic research entails. In terms of a locally-based practice, one might point to the precipitous decline in either interest or training in this area of inquiry at the University of the West Indies to account for the sluggishness of response.

Anthropology (and ethnography along with it) has also undoubtedly been handicapped by its colonial associations. Quite explicitly, and with an apparent degree of consensus between native-born and English scholars, it was decided from the early years of the ISER that the colonial separation of social anthropology and sociology was inappropriate in the Caribbean context. In studying Caribbean societies, they rejected the tendency that prevailed at the time to cordon off as the preserve of anthropology the social life of peoples deemed more exotic, if only because they were unfamiliar. But just as cows do not have to be grown in pastures to yield milk, so too the discourse and methodology of anthropology need not have gone into disuse because of the process of their emergence.

Anthropology has, moreover, both in the Caribbean and elsewhere, not always been forthright in making the relevance of its own fine-grained research explicit to economists and to policy makers. In spite of this, and even though tarred by its alliance with colonialism (an interdependence born of the philosophical stimulus that encounters with non-European others gave to European thought, and further nurtured by way of the discipline’s associations with colonial administrations in the early twentieth century) anthropology has survived and flourished internationally.<sup>15</sup>

Important ethnographic research on the Caribbean itself, has continued to come from scholars (some of them Caribbean-born) based at centers elsewhere. Even to cite an arbitrary selection of examples from this extensive body of work, serves to draw out the contrast that has been implied between anthropology and development economics in relation to choice of subject and unit of analysis. Between the late 1960s and the late 1980s an-

thropologists have done important work on the Virgin Islands (e.g. Olwig 1985), Providencia (e.g. Wilson 1973), Maroon communities of Suriname (e.g. Richard Price 1975; Sally Price 1984), West Indians who live along the Costa Rican coast (e.g. Purcell 1987), and inter-island trade by women in the Eastern Caribbean (Carnegie 1986).

The thrust of much of this work has been to specify and to articulate Caribbean ideas and values that make more logical and more understandable behavior that was and continues to be dismissed as disorganized, disruptive, or mere departures from Western models. Many of these research projects have been intensive and long-term. Raymond Smith and several of his students have attempted to specify the cultural ideas that govern kinship behavior in the British Caribbean, building on genealogical research carried out in Jamaica and Guyana over the period of several decades (for a fully developed statement of this body of work see R.T. Smith 1988). Sally and Richard Price have explored the development and structure both of aesthetic ideas and of historical consciousness among the Maroons of Suriname (e.g. Price & Price 1980, and Price 1983). Jean Besson has pursued the complex ideas relating to the use and handing down of "family land" (e.g. Besson 1979 and 1984; also Carnegie 1987a). But significant contributions have also come from other research projects, some of which have been of lesser time depth (e.g. Wilson 1973, Drummond 1980, Carnegie 1987b).

Anthropologists have also been making important contributions towards the explication of the relationships between the labor and lives of Caribbean peoples, and the international system (e.g. Mintz 1985, Trouillot 1988).

The cumulative effect of such work is not only to make clear, in some abstract sense, cultural systems of thought, but to make possible – even if the anthropologists themselves do not always draw out the connections – the initiation of policy options that are at once more informed and more creative for having been grounded in a richer understanding of the historical and cultural processes of the people for whom they are designed. Caribbean economists have now begun to acknowledge the determining and obscuring effect that conceptualizations such as "national product" have on one's ability to see, measure, and understand aspects of economic activity that transcend national boundaries and that are routine for the people engaged in them (Girvan 1991). While the mechanisms of economic support for a large number of Caribbean households, the social networks that sustain them, and the cultural ideas that guide them are all transnational (Carnegie 1982, 1987b), policy makers and social scientists have uncritically worked on the premise that the nation-state ought to be the operative unit for measuring economic activity and for effecting policy. Government and

social science thinking became more centralized, more closely wedded to concepts and tools posited on the center, while economic activity of phenomenal proportion, but little understood, grew in the so-called informal sector at the margins.<sup>16</sup>

Impervious to the formulations of the new nationalist technocrats, people of all classes at the local level redoubled efforts to "develop" themselves: building and extending their social networks overseas and using these networks to provide a wide range of economic and social support to each other across national frontiers. As the erstwhile dependency theorist Girvan (1991:4), in his recent contribution to a rethinking of traditional models puts it:

From a more holistic point of view, we could consider informal activities, higglering, itinerant travel, short term overseas employment and more permanent migration as all part of a network of linked activities utilizing family, personal and purely commercial relationships. The geo-economic frame of reference of participants in these activities may have little to do with the concept of 'Jamaica' or 'CARICOM' as a unit of analysis or of development.

The process of arriving at such a recognition is urged and facilitated by an essentially ethnographic concern with the seemingly inconsequential day-to-day activities of ordinary people. In my own case, standing around for hours in broiling sunshine or sometimes rain, and watching as fruit were picked, crated, shipped to a neighboring island, and sold by energetic middle-aged women or their agents in St. Lucia and Barbados, helped me begin to recognize the trans-national, archipelagic conception that people in the Eastern Caribbean have of their region (Carnegie 1982, 1986). In Girvan's case, he tells us how his own enlightenment was inspired by seeing the scores of "Jamaican" groups that sprouted overnight in the New York, New Jersey area to collect money and relief supplies to send to Jamaica immediately after hurricane Gilbert. The overpowering amplitude of this spontaneous, grass-roots movement proved no less shocking for him than to see, on his return to Jamaica, how this effort: "...was completely eclipsed in the Jamaican media by the publicity given to the aid from the U.S. government" (Girvan 1991:6-7). Politicians, then, having foisted the imaginative construct of the nation-state upon their world, the media and the social sciences become its willing flag-bearers.

Of course, the adoption of anthropology and ethnographic methods of inquiry offers no assurance, in and of themselves, that ideas and processes at the local level will necessarily be any more clearly perceived and understood. The ability to perceive the familiar depends, at least to some degree, on the shock of having to come to terms with the unfamiliar. Ethnographic discovery is somehow nurtured by a dialectical, back-and-forth movement

of distance and closeness. But if one were to take as examples the experiences of India and Brazil – two countries where anthropological traditions adopted originally from Europe have taken root in the academic establishment – one sees an unmistakable if understandable trend towards doing ethnography in familiar rather than more distant places (e.g. Saberwal 1982, Guilherme Velho 1982). In part, no doubt, the unavailability of resources restricts the capacity to venture further afield. But resource availability, just as the timbre of sentiment, are politically induced conditions. Nationalism becomes a double curse: even as it urges its observer-scholars to survey all from the deck of the capital's centralized promontory, it also draws with narrow sharpness the boundaries within which they might focus. The imagined national community, given form by geography, constrains the native ethnographer as tenaciously as the geography of the former empire determined the varieties of exotic others that their own anthropologists could sample.

A native ethnographic practice must ultimately seek to disentangle those "habits of thought," embedded in local cultural experience, that both constrain and might contribute to the building of a sturdy local intellectual tradition. But as Saberwal (1982:47) suggests for the Indian case, to do so requires that we:

...approach that Western tradition seriously – not with apprehension, for it is more than merely a source of our historic difficulties, but as a foil, a particular historical experience, which we may hold to ourselves as mirror much as Max Weber, Louis Dumont, and others have tried to recognize the West for themselves in the Indian mirror.

This venturing outward to better see innard, requires, then, not only that Kingston acknowledge Marie Galante, but that other regions of the world, indeed the Western tradition itself, be explored intensively and without rancor. As C.L.R. James (1986) so grandly expresses it: "To establish his own identity, Caliban, after three centuries must himself pioneer into regions Caesar never knew." The thrust of this essay has been to suggest that the native British Caribbean social sciences and the institutions they have built have conspired, deluded by the hollow promise of nationalism, to shackle Caliban's wandering feet, and mind.

#### NOTES

1. The thoughts expressed here are very much the result of a series of dialogues between myself and others, no doubt started long ago, but which have been most intense recently. I wish to thank my interlocutors who (besides those whose published works are acknowledged in

the text) have willingly, patiently, and generously shared with me – in interviews or through correspondence, in conversation or in the classroom – their views on various aspects of the ideas and the period about which I write. I would especially like to express appreciation to George and Gloria Cumper, Raymond Smith, George Roberts, Sidney Mintz, Norman Girvan, Don Robotham, Richard Price, Ella Ray, Steven Kemper, David Scott, and students of the Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences who responded positively to the initial, tentative formulation of these ideas.

2. One example of the mutually supportive exchanges that were nurtured in the womb of Empire is the fascinating story of the relationships between the founding of colonial botanic gardens, the growth of professional scientific bodies in Britain, and the expansion of economically viable and other necessary crops in newly settled colonies (Brockway 1979).

3. Here, I draw most heavily on Feuchtwang (1975) and Brown (1975). While this is not the place for extended discussion of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, the CSSRC, or the interdependence between anthropology and colonial administration, it should be pointed out that the relationship was not a simple one of unquestioned complicity on the part of the anthropologists, or of unqualified embrace on the part of the Colonial Office and its local agents. The authors cited above, as well as other contributors to that important collection (Asad 1975) give a fuller picture of this contested history.

4. This impressive body of work – all coming out in a concentrated period of about ten years and far exceeding the comparable number of book-length manuscripts on the Caribbean in any of the other social sciences of the same period – includes: Clarke (1957), Henriques (1953), Jayawardena (1963), Mintz (1960), M.G. Smith (1962a, 1962b, 1963), R.T. Smith (1956), and Steward et al. (1956). Many of the books and monographs, were, of course, preceded and followed by a large number of articles published in the pages of *Social and Economic Studies* and elsewhere by these and other anthropologists.

5. The tabulations were compiled by going through all the single issues of the journal that were available to me from the start of publication in 1953 to 1989, at libraries of the University of the West Indies and at Rutgers University. All lead articles and major review articles were included, but book reviews and research notes were, in general, omitted. A small number of issues of the journal could not be located and so the total number of articles reported may be slightly fewer than were actually published. As in any system of classification, it was sometimes difficult to decide where to place particular pieces of work; the final decisions were based on my own considered judgement and might well have been classified differently by others. Nevertheless, I do feel that the gross patterns highlighted by the tabulations will stand close scrutiny by others. It should be noted, in the journal's favor, that there is some expansion in the diversity of its interests over time as witnessed by the increase in the category "other" in Table 1, and of the non-Caribbean world areas on which articles periodically appear.

6. The category "other" in the table includes a smattering of articles on law, technology, agriculture, and psychology (a field, regrettably, even more under-represented in the institutional social sciences of the region than is anthropology/ethnography). In the 1980s, for the first time, there were 16 articles on women included among the journal's slightly more diverse fare. The increased attention to the field of public administration over the years reflects its incorporation into the teaching and degree options offered by the Faculty of Social Sciences. This lends support to the argument that teaching and research interests of the faculty serve to channel and to guide the research and theoretical frames of reference of students, and ultimately to determine what gets published.

7. See, for instance, Cumper (1954, 1958) and Edwards (1954).

8. In some respects, this tabulation is not as fine-grained as it might be in the sense that articles

that list several countries by name are assigned to the "comparative" category only, while articles that refer both to an indigenous group and to the island in which they live (Caribs in Dominica, for instance) are assigned to the "indigenous" category – in both instances as a way of avoiding double counting. Even if one were to correct for distortions such as these, however, the gross patterns the table highlights, i.e. the relative neglect of the smaller territories of the region and of marginal groups, would still hold true. To simplify the table, countries that have undergone a change of name during the period covered by the survey are listed only by one name: for example, articles on British Guiana and Guyana are all grouped as Guyana in the table.

9. Branches of the ISER were established at the Cave Hill (Barbados) and St. Augustine (Trinidad) campuses of the university in the 1960s, no doubt in an effort to meet the need for the countries of the Eastern Caribbean to be treated more seriously in the Institute's research agenda. Nevertheless, this diversification in plant and positions is hardly reflected in the pages of the main publication organ of the Institute, *Social and Economic Studies*, in the 1970s and 1980s. Moreover, the decentralization and devolution of power to the other two campuses of the university, reflected in this and many other aspects of the university's administration, has served to decrease the movement of students and seasoned researchers between the different countries of the region, and to increase the numbing sense of parochialism that prevails. The only agents of the university who consistently move around are the senior administrators. And while many of them were once productive scholars, their now brief visits to other countries of the region are fully occupied by interminable meetings, and largely preclude new research. More importantly – as in the case of the political system – the Western model of bureaucracy in which these administrators operate is so inherently centralizing and so disdainful of diversity, that they gradually become deadened to the potentialities that lie outside the sphere of the organization's grand design.

10. See, for instance, the wide ranging critique by Polly Hill (1986), based largely on her research, over three decades, in West Africa and South India.

11. By the time that the local social science community began to show mild interest once more in the islands of the Lesser Antilles, their primary motivating concerns reflect fully their conversion to the patronizing, even imperial stance of Euro-American economics and political science. Prompted by the achievement of or discussions towards political independence in several of the islands in the Eastern Caribbean, the region's social scientists took up the question of the viability of these units (Lewis 1976). Their paternalistic apprehensions about the question of scale, may almost be seen to parallel James Anthony Froude's misgivings of a hundred years earlier about the possibility for black independence of any sort in the Caribbean.

12. It is noteworthy that Caribbean social scientists have largely ignored the many collections of folklore done in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and have not seen fit to pursue this fruitful point of entry to native thought.

13. Throughout the paper, but in this section in particular, I draw on Benedict Anderson's magisterial analysis of the construction of the nation-state as *Imagined communities* (Anderson 1991).

14. To some degree, work congenial to an ethnographic perspective and which builds on both the earlier folklore studies of the region and on the anthropological writing of the 1950s, has been done in the Faculty of Arts and General Studies at the University of the West Indies at Mona. One recent example of the insightful formulations to which such work might lead, is Mervyn Alleyne's *Roots of Jamaican culture* (1988), and, in particular, the concluding chapter of that book which begins to outline a distinctive Jamaican worldview.

15. There has been healthy discussion since the late 1960s about the complex relationship

between anthropology and colonialism. Certainly, it was both part creator of, and contributor to, a European philosophical tradition that transforms the "other" into object for both domination and study. On the other hand, however, it is important to recognize that anthropology, at the same time, "...constituted a source of potential radical criticism of the colonial order itself..." compelled by a methodology and bent of mind "...which by definition reaches out geographically, linguistically and philosophically beyond the bounds of received western civilization in search of alternative modes of understanding and living" (James 1975:42).

16. Indeed, so close has been the relationship between the emergence of the social sciences and the growth of the nation-state, with its increasingly interventionist models of development, that social scientists might well be seen to have a vested interest in their continuation.

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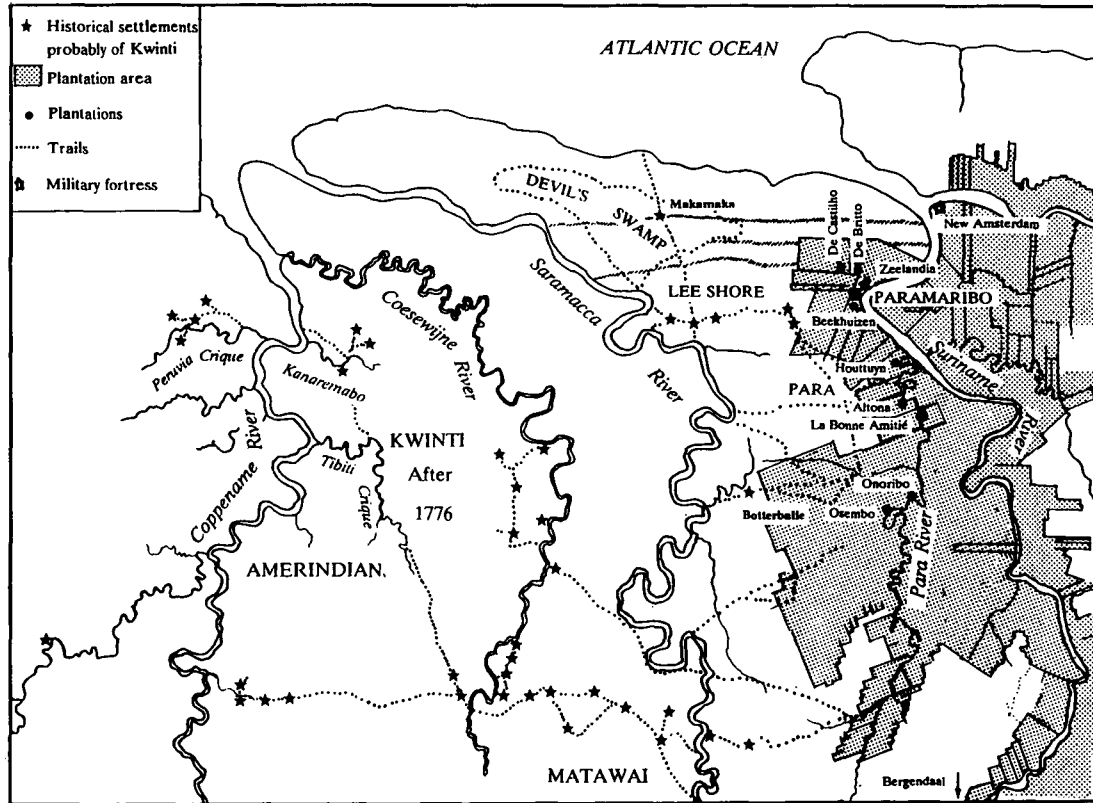
WIM HOOGBERGEN

## ORIGINS OF THE SURINAME KWINTI MAROONS

### INTRODUCTION

A lot has been written about the Suriname Maroons. The 1976 bibliography of Price already gives 1330 items. Since that time approximately 100 more scientific publications have been added. However, even within a richly documented field of study blank spots can be found. One of these blank spots is the history of the Kwinti Maroons. The anthropologist Dirk Van der Elst, who in the early 1970s conducted fieldwork in the Kwinti-settlements *Bitagron* and *Kaaimanston*, stated that his quest for oral traditions on the period of the marronage often resulted in rather conflicting stories (Van der Elst 1975:9 *et seq.*). A publication by De Beet and Sterman (1980) presents the same picture. In the oral traditions of the Kwinti three principal stories emerge: a marronage from the neighboring colony Berbice (often linked to the great slave revolt of 1763 in that colony); a marronage from the Para region led by *granman* (paramount chief) Kofi; and a family relationship between the legendary Suriname Maroon leader Boni<sup>1</sup> and this Kofi. Kofi was supposed to be Boni's elder brother. At one time they were slaves on the same plantation.<sup>2</sup>

The Kwinti Maroons are hardly mentioned in the contemporary literature. According to Hartsinck (1770:813) a *nest* of runaways had settled in the area between Paramaribo and the Saramacca River. This settlement, Hartsinck wrote, was supposed to have been in existence for some years, but as the inhabitants had established their villages in the virtually impenetrable mangrove forests and swamps, it had been impossible to threaten them with extinction. John Gabriel Stedman (1796) also refers to a Maroon village in the



MAP 1. PROBABLE SETTLEMENTS OF KWINTI MAROONS ADAPTED FROM HENEMAN'S MAP (1784)

same region.<sup>3</sup> In his publication of 1796 on the war against the Boni Maroons, the colonial government clerk Charles Brouwn included a few facts that on close scrutiny do not concern the Boni Maroons but the Kwinti.<sup>4</sup>

In this article I would like to report on my search in the Dutch and the Suriname archives for data regarding the early history of the Kwinti Maroons.<sup>5</sup> I have chosen a narrative form. This style seems to me most suitable for evoking the atmosphere surrounding the vicissitudes of a small group of Maroons.

#### THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF THE KWINTI, 1743-1760

The history of the Kwinti is relatively old, covering approximately 250 years. West of Paramaribo, in almost inaccessible swamps bearing the name of *Duivelsbroekzwamp* (Devil's Swamp), some runaway slaves settlements had already been established before 1750. The place these runaway slaves fled to was not propitious because Amerindians who had no intention of helping them or giving them refuge, were living there too. The first mention I found in the archives on these runaway communities dates from March 1743. The Suriname Governor, Mr. Jan Jacob Mauricius, wrote in his diary on March 6, 1743 that *de neeger Quassie*<sup>6</sup> of plantation Nieuw-Timotibo had been to Saramacca, where he had discovered an abandoned village of runaway slaves, which consisted of thirty-three houses. Amerindians had shown him the way. These Amerindians told Governor Mauricius that the Maroons had moved on because they feared detection. From their remarks it became clear that the villages were situated not far from the plantation area, approximately sixty kilometers as the crow flies. The Amerindians went on to relate further that they had known for some considerable time that runaway slaves were living in that area. On account of the heavy rains they had not succeeded in finding the new camps of the Maroons. The Amerindians promised that they would point out the way to the new Maroon villages during the dry season. The inhabitants of this village must have had contact with slaves, as they possessed rifles, gun powder, and lead. According to the Amerindians, they could hear them shooting every day.<sup>7</sup>

The Amerindians seem to have actually mounted a new expedition in 1743. Quassie also appears to have been on a campaign again. He had been sent out in August to go and spy. On his return he told Governor Mauricius that he had not discovered any Maroon villages. However, he had seen traces of the Maroons: traps and snares for catching animals and baskets for fishing. One Indian was supposed to know of a village, at least he had said so

when he was drunk. The drunken Indian, called Abraham, was transported to Paramaribo, but once he was sober he denied having any knowledge of the location of the Maroon village. Governor Mauricius, however, considered that Abraham knew enough to be able to act as a guide. He decided to have a *burgherpatrouille* (burgher patrol), consisting of nine planters, complemented by thirty slaves, an unknown number of Amerindians, and Quassie and Abraham, search for the Maroon village. After approximately ten days the patrol came home empty-handed.<sup>8</sup>

For a number of years (1743-49) nothing important on the Kwinti is to be found in the archives. Quassie went on expeditions to Maroons a few more times and from time to time Amerindians came to hand in the right hands of runaway slaves who had been killed by them in the Saramacca area.<sup>9</sup> In February 1750 the planters were more successful. By accident a runaway slave, named Kodjo, fell into their hands. After interrogations in the Suriname prison, the fortress of Zeelandia, he recounted that he had lived in a Maroon village between the Saramacca River and the Atlantic, of which a certain Bokkoe was the chief. He knew the path leading from Paramaribo to his village, and offered to show it. The Councillors of the *Hof van Politie en Crimineele Justitie* (Court of Policy and Criminal Justice)<sup>10</sup> decided to send a patrol to the Maroons, consisting of fifty *burghers*, under the command of Ensign Hentschel, accompanied by 101 (negro) bearers, and equipped with provisions for a fortnight. Ensign Hentschel was successful. His patrol discovered four villages surrounded by "beautiful" gardens. Most Maroons were able to escape, but a child, a man, and two women, one of whom appeared to be the chieftain's wife, were captured. After the discovery of the settlements a military occupation force consisting of thirty soldiers and thirty slaves was left behind in one of the villages, so as not to give the escaped Maroons a chance to return and collect food from their provision grounds. A tactic constantly applied in the fight against the Maroons.<sup>11</sup>

About a year later, in March 1751, a group of Amerindians of the Coppenname came to Paramaribo to complain that the Maroons of the Lower Saramacca River had killed one of their chieftains. They asked for weapons in order to be able to undertake a revenge expedition. In May they returned to the capital with twelve captured female Maroons and a few children. During the attack on the village they had killed ten more men, four women and some children, whose amputated right hands they handed in. Governor Mauricius immediately ordered drinks to treat the entire group of sixty *kaboegers*.<sup>12</sup> He had a fine red suit with silver decorations made for the chief. Evidently the Amerindians also got the 50 guilders bounty for each right hand delivered.<sup>13</sup>

The captured women were interrogated shortly afterwards in the fortress of Zeelandia. It became clear from their accounts that the Amerindians of the Coppename had behaved in a horrendous way. Children had been bashed to death against trees and the men who had survived the fight had been cut to pieces while still alive. The chieftain was among those supposed to have been killed by the Amerindian attackers. The prisoners did not think that many fellow-villagers had survived the massacre.

Nine of the twelve female prisoners were *Bosch Creoolen* (Bush Creoles), runaway slaves who had not been born on a plantation, but in the *bosch* (jungle). Only three women had at one time been slaves. Two of them declared that they had not run away, but that they had been kidnapped from their plantation by the Maroons. The other woman, born in Africa, confessed that she had run away with three other new slaves shortly after their arrival in Suriname. The Court of Policy decided not to punish the female Maroons. Usually runaway slaves were executed, especially if they had been living in a Maroon village for some years. However, *Bosch Creoolen* were not runaway slaves and the defense of the two runaway women that they had been kidnapped was accepted. The African-born slave went scot-free because she had run away so shortly after her arrival in the New World.<sup>14</sup> Of course an acquittal did not mean that the twelve women were suddenly free people. The nine Bush Creoles were auctioned. The three slaves were "allowed" to return to their plantations, provided that the owners restituted the 50 guilders of premium that had been paid to the Amerindians.<sup>15</sup>

In the archives there is not a lot to be found on the Kwinti in the period between 1751 and 1756. In February 1756 the Amerindians apparently went on a runaway hunt once more. The government paid out a bounty for killing runaways in the Lower Saramacca region.<sup>16</sup> Two years later Amerindians again destroyed a Maroon village in this area (Müller 1973:49). During the same period a Kwinti village must have been established in the Para region. This village was discovered in September 1758 as the result of the arrest of a Maroon. After his interrogation, which will not have been gentle, the prisoner, called December, agreed to take a patrol to his village. This turned out to be located at less than a day's walk from the plantations. When approaching the village, the patrol made such a lot of noise that the Maroons were warned and were able to escape. Only one man and an old Indian woman were captured. The village consisted of ten houses and a *Gado Huys* (shrine house). Surrounding it were gardens covering an area of ten acres.<sup>17</sup> In the village the patrol found quite a lot of goods: cotton hammocks, cotton loincloths for men and women, axes, cutlasses, machetes, knives, and pipes.<sup>18</sup> The most spectacular objects the soldiers found, were

three statues erected in the chieftain's house. "*Wanschapen maaksels met menselijke gedaante, doch de mens voorgesteld als een vogel, wonderlijk behangen met koralen en veren.*" (Misshapen creations having a human shape, however, of humans represented as a bird, curiously hung with coral and feathers.) According to a comment from this period these statues were fetishes, made by *Kormantijnen* (Coromantes).<sup>19</sup>

A few months later, in February 1759, some Kwinti robbed a small plantation in the vicinity of Paramaribo. They kidnapped two female slaves and killed a male slave. According to the councillors of the Court of Policy the Maroons had in fact planned to kill the Jewish owner Raphael De Britto. Plantation slaves pursued the attackers. After some time they discovered a path that would probably lead them to the Maroon village. As they were afraid of walking into an ambush, they dared not follow the path. The Court of Policy decided to summon one of the chieftains of the Amerindians of the Coppename to Paramaribo for talks regarding a new attack on the Maroons. In September it became clear that the Amerindians showed little inclination to undertake a new bush patrol.<sup>20</sup>

On February 24, 1761 marauding Maroons were discovered on plantations in the Para region. Some planters immediately formed a *burgher* patrol to pursue them. Near the Atlantic they discovered a small settlement, consisting of three houses, in which five Maroons who tried to escape were living. One of the men was killed, while the other two fell into the hands of the patrol. As it was raining constantly, which meant that the water level in the swamps was very high, the *burghers* did not succeed in capturing the two fugitives.<sup>21</sup>

#### KWINTI VILLAGES DISCOVERED AND DESTROYED, 1761-62

During the period from 1730 to 1760 almost all the attention of the planters had been directed towards the large Maroon groups, living south of the plantations. In the 1760s this was brought to an end. In October 1760 peace had been made with the Ndjuka Maroons. In 1762 the Saramaka would follow. In spite of this the planters had no wish to make peace with the Kwinti. A capricious whim of fate excluded the Kwinti from the peace treaties of the 1760s. The Suriname planters thought they would be able to defeat this small Maroon group, especially if the now pacified Maroons were called in. As a result of these developments the Kwinti were hunted by a new enemy. In the years to follow besides Amerindians, *burghers*, and soldiers, pacified Maroons were going to wage war against them.

In the period between 1760 and 1775, the Kwinti were living in two areas.



On the estuary of the Lower Saramacca River, in the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*, were situated four or five villages, often at a few days' walk from of each other. In this swamp sandy ridges rose above the water like islands and on top of those rises the Kwinti built their villages and laid out their provision grounds. The road to Paramaribo also ran via these ridges. Whenever the Kwinti went on their forays into the town, they travelled the ridges and the swamps eastwards for three or four days, to arrive on the land of Raphael De Britto already mentioned, a little to the west of Paramaribo. The second living area of the Kwinti was situated a bit more to the south, near Botterbalie Creek, between Para Creek and the Saramacca River. The Maroons from these villages mainly pillaged the plantations in the Para region, especially Altona, Osembo, and Onoribo.

In 1761 and 1762 a number of bush patrols discovered the location of the Kwinti villages in the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*. All the villages appeared to be surrounded by extensive provision grounds. From the reports of these patrols that have been preserved, it clearly emerges that the Kwinti were reasonably self-sufficient in that time. Sufficient food was grown on their provision grounds.<sup>22</sup> The renewed pursuit of the Kwinti was the consequence of a robbery near Paramaribo. On December 2, 1761 some Maroons forced their way into the living quarters of the plantation house of the Widow Tuynman. There they looted as much as they could carry. A white man and a slave, who tried to prevent this, were killed. As soon as this became known in Paramaribo, Governor Wigbold Crommelin sent a military patrol after the Maroons. Six (now pacified) Ndjuka Maroons, who were in Paramaribo at the time, were added to the command. After two days the soldiers and the Ndjuka had already returned to Paramaribo. They had lost the track of the Maroons because of heavy rains.<sup>23</sup>

Some days after the robbery at Widow Tuynman's plantation, Governor Crommelin issued orders for three patrols which were to march against the Kwinti from different directions. One of these patrols, consisting of thirteen soldiers and fourteen bearers, under the command of Lieutenant Klepper rapidly achieved success. On December 10, 1760 a track led the patrol to a camp where four to six Maroons had been sleeping. They had eaten tortoises and caimans there. The same day a felled tree, from which honey had been taken, was found. In the early evening the sounds of drums and singing were heard in the military camp. Lieutenant Klepper decided not to advance any further, but to ask for reinforcements from Paramaribo. Six days later the requested support, eleven extra soldiers, arrived. The next day the soldiers attacked the village. The Maroons quickly spotted the soldiers. As they started to shout warnings, most of them could get away in time. A few men shot arrows at the command. A Maroon fired a gun, but hit

nobody. The soldiers shot dead two men and a woman. The soldiers captured four children who had not been able to escape fast enough. The village consisted of twenty-five houses and two *Gado huysen* (shrine houses). One of the children said that the village was called *Makakondre* (thorn-village). *Makakondre* lived up to its name, as it was situated extremely strategically on a rise in the middle of swamps which were overgrown with thorny bushes. In the houses loincloths, plates, choppers, machetes, earthenware, and iron pots were found. The Klepper patrol stayed four days in *Makakondre*. All houses were set on fire and the crops (corn, sweet potatoes, plantains, peanuts, tayars, yams, and beans) were destroyed.<sup>24</sup>

A second patrol, consisting of seven Amerindians, fifteen armed slaves, and fourteen *burghers*, under the command of Jacob Bogman, had little initial success. They marched from one swamp to the next. The coastal marshes proved to be a true paradise for all sorts of large crabs, with traces of snakes and tigers everywhere, but none of Maroons. Only after more than two weeks plodding through the quagmires, on December 21, 1761, did the command find the Maroon traces they had been looking for: cut-down trees and various tracks. Bogman followed those trails, and again found a clear sign. In an "enormously" high tree the Maroons had built scaffolding at a height of four to five meters, to rob the birds' nests. The path led the patrol past more trees, where eggs had also been eaten judging by the large quantity of empty eggshells. Some hours later the patrol arrived in a plantain field, next to which a small village was situated. Bogman had his men attack the village immediately in two ranks. The few Maroons who were present in the village escaped, however, leaving their cooking pots on the fire. Pursuit took the patrol to a second village which proved to be entirely abandoned. From the remains of food it could be assessed that the inhabitants had eaten that same morning in their hamlet. Beyond the village again there was a track, which led to a third hamlet, and another path took the men to yet a fourth village, beyond which large provision grounds were situated.<sup>25</sup>

Of the four Kwinti villages discovered, the first one proved to be the largest. Jacob Bogman immediately gave it his own name: *Bogman's Glorie*. It consisted of twenty-six houses. The other villages were a bit smaller. All of them had large provision grounds, in which plantains, tayars, yams, and beans were growing. All the settlements looked very neat and clean. Also the crops on the fields were in a lush condition, their beds neatly maintained. Bogman returned to *Bogman's Glorie*, where he immediately had his men destroy the crops in the fields. He also ordered the plantains to be cut down. When all was finished, the village was burnt to the ground. The next morning the other three villages and their gardens were demolished. After that the patrol returned to Paramaribo.<sup>26</sup>

Two days after his arrival in Paramaribo, Bogman received orders to mount a new expedition. This time his command consisted of 27 soldiers, 13 armed slaves, 50 bearers, and 4 free Negroes. By December 29, 1761 the men were already marching in the direction of the four villages that Bogman had discovered ten days before. In the vicinity of *Bogman's Glorie* there proved to be six other large provision grounds. Also these gardens were abundant with tayers, sugar cane, plantains, and corn. At the beginning of January 1762 a new Maroon path was found beyond *Bogman's Glorie*. After two hours the men who followed it found a large provision ground, half an hour later they located a second garden, and an hour later a third one.

The downpours that followed each other notwithstanding, the men moved on and found four more large gardens. Near the fields there were six or seven houses whose inhabitants had fled not long before. After an hour the patrol found another provision ground, "inimitably full" of plantain and corn. Three-quarters of an hour later a small abandoned village of fourteen houses was located. Beyond this hamlet extended an open space, not long before burnt down by the Maroons, and planted with young corn. The discoverers decided to name this village *Marchandtskondre*, after G.H. Marchandt, the co-leader of the command. From *Marchandtskondre* there were various paths leading through the swamps to the fishing places of the Maroons. The misery for the Maroons was not finished. The soldiers discovered another field with four new houses, in which fires were still burning. The village contained a large quantity of pots and pans, tools for weaving and spinning, caps, and men's loincloths. The houses also contained large quantities of food: corn, plantains, tobacco, and peanuts. The men also found the lid of the coffeepot of Lieutenant Klepper's expedition. This discovery led them to conclude that the provision grounds belonged to the Maroons who had been driven away from *Makakondre* by Klepper.

For ten days the men went on searching for other provision grounds, villages, and Maroons. Although Bogman and Marchandt discovered several other fields, they did not find any new villages. On January 11, 1762 they came across the village of *Makakondre*, burnt by Lieutenant Klepper. There they found the skeleton of a woman shot by his patrol and two graves of men who had been killed. There was no new fire-place in the village, nor did the command find recent footprints. It seemed correct to presume that the Maroons had left for another place after the destruction of *Makakondre*. Three days later Marchandt found an old and abandoned village. It had been a large one, about an hour's walk in length and a quarter of an hour in breadth. As evening fell, Marchandt discovered a new provision ground with six to seven houses in the vicinity of that old village. Marchandt

ordered an attack on it, but it proved to be deserted. From the gardens a path led to a village. When they arrived it proved to have been hastily abandoned by the Maroons. This village consisted of twenty-three huts. Judging from the sleeping places, each hut had been occupied by seven to eight people. Therefore the village must have had approximately 150 inhabitants. When they fled, the Maroons had been forced to leave their belongings and food behind. The fires were still burning and pots contained food ready to be eaten. In the meantime night had fallen, so the men stayed in the village. As Bogman and Marchandt were afraid the Maroons would use the darkness to try and recapture their village, everybody had to stay awake. That night, however, nothing happened. Nor was anything of importance detected on the following days. Therefore Bogman and Marchandt decided to return to Paramaribo.<sup>27</sup>

It became clear from the interrogation of the children captured in *Makakondre* by Lieutenant Klepper that a reconciliation between the Kwinti and the Amerindians of the Coppename had taken place in the meantime. Several Amerindians were living in the Kwinti villages. Furthermore the children told that the Maroons had built hiding-places on the other side of the Saramacca River to which they could escape whenever bush patrols threatened their villages. The Maroons possessed few weapons. They only had the three rifles which had been seized during the raid on the plantation of Widow Tuynman. The captured children were auctioned in Paramaribo. The proceeds were divided between the participants in the patrols.<sup>28</sup>

#### CAPTEIN JOO HUNTING THE MAROONS

It might surprise outsiders that there was a total lack of solidarity among the victims of Dutch "imperialism". Not only did planters and soldiers march against the Kwinti, so did slaves (often without white supervision), Amerindians, and other Maroons. In 1762 the Kwinti were attacked twice more. At the beginning of March a small patrol of Ndjuka Maroons went to the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*. They returned with two right hands of Maroons who had been shot to death. The second expedition was under the command of the slave Joo van Dandiran. Captein Joo regularly commanded small armies of slaves, which marched against the Maroons. The patrol of Captein Joo was very successful. It captured eight Maroons.<sup>29</sup>

Patrols that were sent to the *Duivelsbroekzwamp* in the period between 1762 and 1765 found hardly anything worth mentioning. On February 2, 1765 Maroons tried to kidnap female slaves who were working on the fields of the Altona plantation. A fight ensued, after which the attackers left again

taking one female slave. Two weeks later Maroons charged Altona again. It was once more time for a patrol. The Court of Policy asked Jacob Bogman, Lieutenant Klepper, and Captein Joo for the location of the villages. The Court accepted a proposal by Captein Joo to have the bush patrol carried out by 24 trusted slaves, accompanied by 28 bearers under his command. Captein Joo left Paramaribo on March 8. After a march of five days the slave army spotted the Maroons. Joo decided not to fire on them, as he hoped to capture more Maroons by approaching the village unnoticed. The slaves continued in silence, but on their arrival it seemed that the Maroons had noticed their enemies, so that they had been able to escape in time. The village, consisting of thirty-four wooden houses, was completely deserted, but the escapees had been obliged to leave behind a large number of goods, including all their *gado* (sacral objects). There were a few large orange, lime, and lemon trees, which indicates that it was a relatively old village. Large provision grounds surrounded the village. A second village was found a day's walk away.<sup>30</sup>

After this success Captein Joo and his slave army returned to Paramaribo. The Court asked them to go on the hunt again in order to finish the job. On April 8, 1765 Joo left a second time, this time reinforced by a few soldiers. After two days the small command discovered eight abundant provision grounds near the village Joo and his men had destroyed one month previously. Since its discovery, the village had been abandoned. On the following day the patrol marched to a second Maroon village, which was situated almost a day's march to the south. Between the two villages there were large swamps in which the water stood almost one meter high. The second village consisted of twenty-eight houses. It had three provision grounds, the largest of which was twenty *kettingen* (chains)<sup>31</sup> long and two wide. From this second village patrols searched for other hamlets and gardens. They located three settlements consisting of four, thirteen, and seven houses respectively. All villages had extensive provision grounds. On April 19 the command of Captein Joo returned to Paramaribo.<sup>32</sup>

In June 1765 Amerindians captured a runaway slave, who had been living with the Kwinti for over three years. The man stated that the Maroons had two more villages, in addition to those destroyed by Captein Joo. It proved impossible to form a patrol, as the large rainy season was at its height. The Court of Policy therefore decided to wait until September.<sup>33</sup>

In the middle of September 1765, when the water in the swamps had dropped sufficiently, two patrols were sent to the Kwinti villages. The captured Maroon was sent along as a guide, but he was not very cooperative in parting with his information, so from time to time he was badly tortured. Six days after the trip had started, one of the patrols arrived in provision

grounds and a village of twenty-six houses, in which the fires were still burning. The Maroon guide confirmed that this was the village he came from. He could tell the names of all the people who had been living in the houses. He also pointed out the house of the *granman*. The Maroon guide thought the inhabitants had fled to the south, to a region which was known to them as *Aricarij*. The patrol decided to head for that region. After three days *Aricarij* was found: a weeded provision ground, eight houses, and two storehouses. After everything had been destroyed as far as was possible, the patrol left again in the direction of the Saramacca River. Close to that river the patrol discovered another Maroon settlement with the fires still burning. As many of the men were ill, the patrol decided to return to Paramaribo. Ten days later another patrol left Paramaribo for the villages of the Kwinti. This patrol discovered provision grounds and deserted villages, however, no trace of the Maroons was found.<sup>34</sup>

Almost a year later, in October 1766, a few Maroons were roaming beyond the Osembo plantation in the Para region. The slaves of this plantation discovered them and shot two men. From one of the dying they learned that the marauders belonged to a group of thirteen. The next day the Maroons tried to kidnap a few female slaves, but they were unsuccessful. A month later the Kwinti Maroons raided the neighboring Onoribo plantation. They killed one slave, seriously wounded two others, set fire to all the slave houses, and took five slaves with them. Slaves who pursued them lost track because of the dry season. Thereupon a patrol was formed of five *burghers*, all of whom were plantation managers from the Para region, soldiers, and twenty-eight armed slaves. The patrol left on November 27. It spent the night near a swamp. The next morning the men discovered the trail of the Maroons, a dangerous path sown with pitfalls containing sharp spikes that were approximately twenty centimetres long. Around noon the men saw a provision ground with a village of sixteen houses; it proved to have been abandoned a few months previously. Three hours later they came to a new provision ground. Alongside the fields there was a neatly kept path, leading to a new village. F.A. Poll, the manager of Onoribo, ordered the *burghers* and the slaves to attack the village. Two Maroons were shot dead and a little girl of about three or four years old was captured. In the attack one of the slaves was also killed, probably by a member of the patrol. This caused a violent row. Nobody wanted to listen any longer to manager Poll. All decided to go home.<sup>35</sup>

That same month another three patrols went to the vicinity of the Kwinti village, one and a half day's march northeast of Onoribo. One of the patrols returned with a woman who had been born in the forest and whose mother had been an Amerindian slave of the Bergendaal plantation.<sup>36</sup> The other

patrols were unsuccessful. A Saramaka Maroon, who had gone along as a guide, told them he had had contact with a man who had made it clear to him by a sign that his group consisted of more than eighty people who had dispersed themselves and kept hidden in the swamps during the day.<sup>37</sup>

During the night of June 30 to July 1, 1767 a few Maroons forced open the storehouses of the Houttuyn plantation, on which occasion they seized saws, axes, and other tools. When they attempted to steal pieces of linen cloth from the bleaching fields they were discovered by a guard. He raised the alarm. From various huts slaves, who had woken up, came running. The Maroons then dropped the goods and fled. The next morning a small patrol of nine slaves went after them. Close to the Saramacca River they discovered an island in a tidal swamp on which were situated two provision grounds, each approximately four square chains. There were also four huts on the island, but the slaves did not find any people.<sup>38</sup>

#### GRANMAN KOFI

For the reconstruction of the history of the Kwinti until the middle of the 1760s we have only journals of bush patrols. From the number of villages, houses, and provision grounds that these patrols destroyed it can be concluded that the number of Maroons can be estimated at approximately 400 persons. During this period hardly anything was known about the Maroons themselves. Around 1770, thanks to some reports of captured Maroons that have been preserved more light is shed on the internal structure of the Kwinti. In one report, dating from 1770, a Maroon said that a few years previously, shortly after the death of *granman* Bokkoe, a group of six Maroons led by Kofi had gone from the Maroon village to the plantation area. Close to Paramaribo they had crept up on the small plantation of planter Wolf. A white man, who had been captured at that occasion, was killed by Kofi. He had cut his head off, and had carried this in triumph to the village, where it had been placed on top of the grave of *granman* Bokkoe. To what extent this spectacular act was connected with Bokkoe's succession is unknown. It is, however, sure that "*eenen Neger genaamd Coffij zijnde een Bosch Creool*" (a Negro called Coffy being a Bush Creole) succeeded him as *granman*.<sup>39</sup>

A short time after Kofi had arrived at his village with this head, a few Kwinti decided to go to Wolf's plantation once more, maybe to repeat their chief's action. However, they were not so successful. Two Maroons were captured, brought to Paramaribo, and interrogated in the fortress Zeelandia. In order to escape the death penalty, one of them offered the Court of

Policy to show a patrol the way to the Kwinti villages. The patrol left Paramaribo on November 6, 1767. After a march of five days across ridges and swamps, the Maroon concluded he had lost the way. The commander had a *Spaanse bok*<sup>40</sup> administered to him, after which the guide found the path again. At a distance of two hours from the village they halted. On Friday November 13, the patrol tried to surround the village before sunrise. Because of its strategic position this was not really possible. A guard discovered the advancing patrol and raised the alarm. Most of the inhabitants were able to escape, but four women and six children were less lucky. The attackers set fire to the village, which consisted of twenty houses, and they marched on in an attempt to try and catch up with the escapees. They discovered another village of six houses. As evening was falling, the patrol spent the night in that hamlet. Nothing of importance was found on the following days, so the patrol returned to Paramaribo with the prisoners.<sup>41</sup>

One of the captured women, Jaba of De Castilho, made a remarkable statement in Paramaribo. She said that Maroons had taken her approximately ten years before. These men had taken her to a settlement which was led by a certain Boko. During a raid on that village, Boko had been killed by whites. Before his death (or shortly afterwards, the record is not very clear on this), an enormous fight broke out between the twenty inhabitants of the village. They let fly at each other with clubs and spears, and many were killed. Jaba fled from the village. Since that time she had been living with Kofi's group.<sup>42</sup>

In the early morning of September 7, 1769 a Ndjuka Maroon, two slaves, and a female slave left for Paramaribo with a *warimbo*<sup>43</sup> full of fish. They never got there, for on the way they were attacked by four Kwinti Maroons, including *granman* Kofi, who stabbed them to death and subsequently disembowelled them. The Court of Policy decided to send a patrol of freed Negroes to the villages in the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*, provided with provisions for a fortnight. On October 2, this command returned to Paramaribo from a successful hunt. The freed Negroes had shot dead two women from Kofi's village, and had captured five women and two children.<sup>44</sup> The success of this patrol made Governor Jean Nepveu decide to install a militia of *Vrije Neegers en Mulatten* (Freed Negroes and Mulattos). The militia was to consist of approximately 150 men. The men would only receive pay and provision when they were actually called up for a bush patrol. Two years later, in 1772, Nepveu established the *Neeger Vrijcorps* (Black Rangers). This corps consisted of 300 slaves, especially redeemed for this army. In the battle against the Maroons (against the Boni Maroons in particular) the *Neeger Vrijcorps* was to play an important role.<sup>45</sup>

At the beginning of October 1769 a patrol of freed Negroes went to the



Kwinti villages yet again. They captured two women. In December Amerindians of the Coppename reported that they had conquered the village of *granman* Kofi, and that they had killed four Maroons, one of whom was Kofi himself. They showed Kofi's spear to the Councillors. A few captured Maroons confirmed that the weapon was that of their chief. However, the allegation that Kofi had been killed proved to be untrue.<sup>46</sup>

A few months later the Maroons committed another murder. A little south of Paramaribo they beat a plantation owner to death. Again *granman* Kofi was one of the killers. The raiders took the gun and the sword of the murdered man. At the beginning of 1770 a number of Kwinti went on a foray to Paramaribo. One of the Maroons, Markies, who had been planning to persuade the young female slave Rosa to join the Maroons, was provided by his fellow tribesman, the *Bosch Creool* Apollo, with an *obia* (obeah) in order to make his wooing a success. The *obia* looked like a stick wrapped up in grass. It could make water drinkable, but it also served as an instrument to blind whites. As Markies was carrying the *obia* with him, the whites would not notice him. The talk with Rosa was not very productive for Markies. She did not want to join him immediately, but asked him to return during the night. While he was leaving Markies lost the *obia*. On his second visit during the night he was noticed and arrested.

Markies provided his interrogators with information about the life of the Kwinti Maroons. Markies did not know anything of the patrol of the Amerindians of the Coppename. However, a patrol of freed Negroes in 1769 had discovered and destroyed twice his village. He said that *granman* Kofi was still alive. His village had approximately fifty inhabitants. Markies provided the names of thirty-one men and five women. After the destruction of their provision grounds a number of years previously, the Maroons had laid out new provision grounds on the other side of the Saramacca River. They had lived near those provision grounds for some time, but by now all Kwinti had returned to their previous living area in the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*. Recently they had laid out two new provision grounds there, and planted manioc and mais.<sup>47</sup>

#### THE REMARKABLE ROLE OF THE MATAWAI MAROONS

In 1762 the government had made peace with the Saramaka Maroons under *granman* Abini. Four years later two of Abini's captains, Beku and Musinga, who were dissatisfied with the presents they had received, raided four plantations in the Para region, on which occasion they stole more than 100 slaves.<sup>48</sup> Promising that the stolen slaves would be returned and that in

exchange for presents no more attacks on plantations would take place, Beku and Musinga agreed to a new peace treaty in April 1769. The relations with other Saramaka Maroons were to remain bad. After 1769 the administrators of Suriname treated the group of Beku and Musinga as a separate Maroon tribe: the Matawai.

In his efforts to show how reliable he had become, and in order to divert the attention from the 100 slaves who had been stolen in 1766 but had still not been returned, in September 1769 Musinga offered to attack a Kwinti village in the Para region, situated on Botterbalie Creek, no more than two hours' walk from the Osembo plantation. For this purpose he requested guns and gunpowder from the Court of Policy. After this it took another year before Musinga actually marched against the Kwinti. The action almost spelled disaster for the Matawai. At a certain moment they discovered they were surrounded by Kwinti, so that all their means of escape were cut off. Both groups started talking. The Kwinti asked for what purpose the Matawai had come to them. Had they come to fight, or did they want to make peace? Musinga stated his intentions were good. The Kwinti made Musinga swear he would live in harmony with them.<sup>49</sup> Two soldiers, who had been in the Maroon village with Musinga, stated later in Paramaribo that the village, in which approximately thirty men, fourteen women, and ten children were living had twenty solid houses plus one *Gado huys*. Extensive provision grounds surrounded the village.

After this event a delegation from Musinga went to Paramaribo and requested the Court of Policy to make peace with the Kwinti, just as the Court had done with them and the Ndjuka and Saramaka. Musinga offered to mediate in the conclusion of this peace treaty. After the peace treaty the Kwinti would join the Matawai under his command. The Court rejected this. Unlike his predecessor, Wigbold Crommelin, Governor Jean Nepveu was no advocate of peace treaties with runaway slaves. He believed that this would encourage the slaves to defect. Besides, the Matawai were not to be trusted. The Court ordered the Matawai to hunt the Maroons.<sup>50</sup>

Some days afterwards supported by soldiers the Matawai marched against the Maroon village. The patrol came back to Paramaribo not more than three weeks later with twenty-two prisoners, ten of them ex-slaves of the Onoribo plantation. The other Maroons also came from plantations in the Para region. It was obvious that this group of Kwinti was responsible for the raid on the Onoribo plantation in November 1766. The captured Maroons were severely punished. Jupiter, originally from the Onoribo plantation, was broken on the wheel alive. Ten other men were flogged to death with ropes. The remaining seven men and four women had to work for the rest of their lives in "bandit chains" in the fortress Nieuw-Amsterdam.<sup>51</sup>

It is highly probable that after this initial war friendly relations between the Matawai and the Kwinti developed. As these relations were forbidden to the Matawai, being pacified Maroons, they were kept shrouded in secrecy.

In December 1772 a few Amerindians who had raided a Kwinti village arrived in Paramaribo. They had killed eleven people, whose right hands they showed. They had captured five women and six children. In order to destroy the rest of the village, the government sent a contingent of the Black Rangers to the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*, but this patrol returned without having been successful. Patrols sent in December 1773 and in February 1774 were also fruitless. A *burgher* patrol gained some success in May 1774. It found a village, a provision ground and a *gado*, but no Maroons. Early in January 1775 envoys from Musinga handed over four runaway slaves who had sought refuge in the village on Botterbalie Creek, which had been destroyed five years previously.<sup>52</sup> The Kwinti were not paid a lot of attention in the period between 1770 and 1775. The actions of the Boni Maroons in the eastern part of the colony required all the planters' attention (Stedman 1796, Hoogbergen 1990).

In May 1775 a contingent of the Black Rangers discovered the rebuilt *Makamaka* consisting of forty solid houses. Upon their arrival all inhabitants fled. One man was overtaken and killed. The patrol captured two women, Amba and Amarantha, ex-slaves of Aron Jessurun. They said that the inhabitants of *Makamaka* had sufficient food, but that they had only three guns. They went regularly to Paramaribo in order to go stealing. In the middle of June a second patrol left for *Makamaka*. They wanted to investigate whether the Maroons had returned to their village in the meantime. After a march of seven days the group reached the deserted village of *Makamaka*. Surrounding it were well-planted provision grounds. However, as a result of the incessant rains the crops had mostly rotted.<sup>53</sup>

In October 1775 a bush patrol found a small Maroon village beyond the Van Klijnhens plantation. The inhabitants fled after a short exchange of fire. In the same month two runaway slaves, who claimed to have lived for two years in a Maroon village, whose chief was a certain Avantuur van Belwaarde, were captured. The slaves denied ever having been in Kofi's village. The Court of Policy sentenced both Maroons to an interrogation by torture until death ensued.<sup>54</sup>

In February 1776 two patrols, one consisting of twenty-five soldiers, the other of Freed Negroes, went searching for Maroons in the area west of Paramaribo. The soldiers did not find anything, but the Freed Negroes returned with a captured woman and two children. They had found two Maroon villages, one of which was Kofi's village. According to the captured

woman, the village was inhabited by eleven men, five women, and six children. In September 1776 soldiers went into battle once more against the Kwinti. On their way there, the patrol met Amerindians who told them that *granman* Kofi with a few fellow Maroons had crossed the Saramacca River in a pirogue a few days previously. The Amerindians had fired at them. Afterwards they had followed the tracks and found hidden pirogues, but they had not seen the Maroons themselves again. Having heard this, the patrol went in the direction pointed out to them by the Amerindians. A few large and small provision grounds, some houses, and places where the Maroons had fished and taken honey from the trees were discovered, but the Maroon villages could not be found.<sup>55</sup>

#### THE KWINTI SETTLE BETWEEN THE SARACACCA AND COESEWIJNE RIVERS

After their villages in the *Duivelsbroekzwamp* and in the Para region had been discovered and destroyed again in 1775 and 1776, the Kwinti decided to cross the Saramacca River for the second time, and to settle between this river and the Coesewijne River. It was a final departure, for they never returned to the region of the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*. The Amerindians, who had seen *granman* Kofi cross the Saramacca River in his pirogue, had probably been witnessing the migration of the Kwinti to the southwest. In November 1776 a few Amerindian chiefs confirmed the Kwinti migration. They came to hand in the right hand of a Maroon they killed and stated on this occasion that Kofi's Maroons had laid out large provision grounds west of the Saramacca River.<sup>56</sup>

In their new living area the Maroons tried to recover from their defeats. In the archives very little is to be found on the period from October 1776 to April 1779. Patrols in March and September 1778, and in February 1779 returned without having discovered anything.<sup>57</sup> It was the Amerindians of the Coppename who discovered Kofi's new villages near the Coesewijne River at the beginning of 1779. The hunt was renewed. In April the Amerindians attempted to take the Maroons by surprise. For a long time fighting took place in and around the Kwinti village. According to the Amerindians they killed eight Maroons, but they had stopped fighting, because people on their side had also been killed. The Maroons proved too strong. Immediately the Court of Policy sent soldiers to the Amerindians in order to make a joint march against the Maroons. In May the Amerindians, seven chiefs and eighty men, women, and children, arrived in triumph in Paramaribo to bring the smoked hands of two Maroons, who had been killed. Their chief,

Frans, declared that his warriors had taken and destroyed Kofi's village. In addition to the two whose right hands were shown, another six Maroons had supposedly been killed. However, most inhabitants had been able to flee. As the water level in the swamps had been too high, nothing had come of the pursuit. As soon as the water level started to drop, the Amerindians would march again against Kofi. This patrol, held in fact in August 1779, achieved nothing.

In November the Maroons took their revenge. They assaulted a few Amerindians who were fishing, killed two of them and took four rifles.<sup>58</sup> In November and December 1779, during an expedition which lasted for almost a month, a joint patrol of thirty-six Ndjuka Maroons and eighteen Amerindians of the Coppename searched for the Kwinti villages near the Coesewijne River. The men left Paramaribo on November 18. In one of the side creeks of the Saramacca River the Ndjuka-Amerindian patrol and the Kwinti got into a short fight. After the Kwinti had fired some shots at the combined patrol they disappeared between the trees. Following this event nothing of importance was found for almost a week. Around seven o'clock on the evening of December 1, the patrol heard drumming by the Kwinti coming from the east-southeast. However, it proved difficult to find their village. Only on December 9 the patrol found a track that first led them to a path and afterwards to a provision ground. As a proof they took eighty bunches of bananas. Two days later the command finally came to the Kwinti village. The path leading to it proved safeguarded by dangerous pitfalls. One of the Ndjuka Maroons fell into one of the traps, and was very badly wounded by the sharp stakes. The new Kwinti settlement consisted of nineteen houses. The next day the patrol located a second village of thirty-three houses. When the raiders attacked it in the early morning, only three Maroons were present. Two of them were killed, the third one escaped. Shortly afterwards the attackers found themselves surrounded by Maroons. A gunfight ensued, which lasted almost the entire morning. Only towards noon did the Ndjuka-Maroons and the Amerindians succeed in breaking through. The Kwinti fled leaving one dead person behind.<sup>59</sup>

For three years nothing was heard of the Kwinti. In December 1782 a patrol of the Black Rangers discovered and destroyed two Kwinti villages between the Saramacca and the Coesewijne Rivers. One hamlet consisted of forty-two, the other of fifty-six houses. The new Kwinti villages were strategically situated in a swamp, and heavily fortified by a ring of palisades (round stakes), through which the patrol had to cut a way for itself. Guards kept watch on the paths leading to the villages. That way the villagers were warned well beforehand, so almost everybody could flee in time. Before the Maroons left their village, they set fire to it. However, the fire did not really

gain a hold, so the Black Rangers were able to extinguish it. Because of their hasty flight the Maroons had had to leave tools, goods, and a lot of food behind.<sup>60</sup>

A year later the Kwinti took revenge for the destruction of their villages. On November 26, 1783 about twenty men, armed with spears, machetes, bows and arrows, raided the La Bonne Amitié plantation near Para Creek. In addition to approximately thirty slaves, manager Smagtenberg and white overseer Maas were also present. The raid started a little after sundown. First the Maroons sneaked to the slave houses, where they became embroiled. An enormous noise ensued. Manager Smagtenberg left the planter's house to see what was going on. On the way he met a female slave, who called out to him to flee as Maroons were attacking the plantation. However, Smagtenberg continued until he reached a group of slaves, carrying a wounded slave. He then returned to the house to get bandages. When he got there it seemed that almost all female slaves had fled into the planter's house, although an old carpenter slave called to them saying it was very unsafe as Maroons always attacked the planters' houses. Smagtenberg had hardly gotten inside when the Maroons surrounded the house. Doors and windows were broken down with axes. Maas and Smagtenberg fled into a side room. When the Maroons got into the room, Smagtenberg jumped outside through the window and was able to escape in the darkness. The white overseer Maas was so frightened that he remained standing stockstill. The Maroons beat him to death, cut his limbs to pieces, and extracted his heart which they took with them. They chopped off his head and threw it in the fire. The Kwinti totally looted the plantation house and took everything that could be moved. The main booty consisted of iron objects, rifles, ammunition, and a box with gold. When the ransacking was finished, the Kwinti set fire to all the plantation buildings, except the slave houses. The attackers took along twelve slaves, among them the *basya* (black overseer), and nine young women.<sup>61</sup>

The next day a patrol of the Black Rangers set off in pursuit. Along the escape route it saw many traces: pieces of cotton, gourds and salt, probably left behind by the stolen women. After three days the pursuers discovered Maroons in a pirogue. A little later a fight ensued which was so severe that the Rangers were forced to withdraw. They decided to wait for reinforcements. When these arrived after a number of days, the Rangers crossed the Saramacca River. On December 10 they discovered a Maroon village, a settlement of twenty houses and approximately ten fields of ripe provisions. However, the village had been abandoned a few days previously. One day later the patrol came to the inhabited village of Bienvenue<sup>62</sup> consisting of forty-seven huts, surrounded by provision grounds. As soon as the inhabit-

ants saw the soldiers, they started firing at them. The fight was started in order to give the women and children a chance to escape. One Maroon was killed, another was captured. The day after the Black Rangers were patrolling around the village, hoping to find an escape route. One of the patrols got into a fight near the village of *granman* Kofi. In this fight three Maroons lost their lives.<sup>63</sup>

After the seizure of their villages the Kwinti fled south towards the savannah area between the coastal marshes and the mountains. When they found Amerindians there, they decided to go back to the lower land. They built a new village and planted new crops on top of the destroyed provision grounds. They called the new village *Langagron* (Long ground).<sup>64</sup>

In March 1785 the commander of the colonial forces, Jurriaan de Fride-rici, who later became Governor of Suriname, decided to send the Black Rangers once more against the Maroons of *granman* Kofi. On the 22 of that month the Rangers under the command of A. Vinsaque sailed up the Saramacca River to Tiger Creek, from where they went overland and marched southwestwards into the jungle. The march took them over ridges and through grass marshes. Towards the evening of the following day the Rangers discovered a Maroon path which led them close to *Langagron*. The men spent the night near the village. In the early morning Vinsaque tried to surround *Langagron*, but the Kwinti discovered the Rangers and could flee in great haste, leaving all their tools and many weapons behind. The Black Rangers went in pursuit, shot one Maroon dead, wounded a few, and captured three of the female slaves taken from La Bonne Amitié. The new village of *granman* Kofi was situated on a shell ridge, surrounded by thick marshes on the north and the south side. To the east and the west it was guarded by a wall of palisades. Sufficient food was available in *Langagron*. There was also poultry. In the huts the soldiers found a large quantity of good tools. From information obtained from the captured female slaves, it seemed that forty-nine people were living in the village: thirty-four men and fifteen women and children, including the stolen female slaves from La Bonne Amitié. These slaves did not want to go back to their plantations.<sup>65</sup>

A month later a new command headed for *Langagron*, this time guided by an ex-inhabitant of that village. In November 1783 when the Kwinti were on their way to La Bonne Amitié in order to raid that plantation, they discovered a small camp in the Para region, in which were living two run-aways: April and Apollo. Both men joined them. During the attack Apollo captured a female slave, who became his wife. In *Langagron* the Kwinti treated the two men more or less as their slaves. When one of the Kwinti took Apollo's wife, he decided to leave the village. On his way back to his former plantation, Apollo was captured near the Saramacca River and sent

to Paramaribo. During his interrogation in the fortress of Zeelandia (history repeats itself) he offered to point out the village of *granman* Kofi. The Court of Policy went along with his proposal, so Apollo was added to a new bush patrol of the Black Rangers as a guide. This command left on April 26, 1785. It followed the route of the previous month. On April 30 the Rangers discovered a small settlement on a little rise with tracks no older than four or five days. For a day and a half they followed these tracks in south-southeasterly direction. On the morning of May 3 the Rangers approached the new settlement of *granman* Kofi. When they stormed the village, they killed three Maroons and captured another three inhabitants. The others escaped.<sup>66</sup>

The three prisoners were interrogated in Paramaribo. Pomba did not reveal much. Only that Kofi had kidnapped her a number of years previously. At one time she had been injured in a raid by Amerindians. She showed the scars. The other prisoner, Akoba, had been born in the bush. She had been taken prisoner once before by Amerindians during a raid on Kofi's village. The Amerindians had sold her to a certain Gomperts in Paramaribo, who had her work in his garden. Then Kofi had collected her again. Back in the village Akoba had married the Maroon Musinga. They had one child: Agosu. The third prisoner, Frans, had run away some fifteen years before from the Beekhuysen plantation. The first months he had lived in the jungle beyond the plantation. There he was discovered by Kofi who took him to his village. Frans van Beekhuysen gave the names of thirty-one men and seventeen women living in Kofi's village. Eight men and two women were Bush Creoles, Kofi and his brother Apollo included. The others had fled from their plantations. Frans also provided a list of names of thirteen Maroons who had been killed or captured by the bush patrols during the years before. In addition he stated that all the men had been present at the raid on La Bonne Amitié. After the Black Rangers had destroyed their new village *Langagron* in March 1785, the Maroons had decided to look for a new living area. *Granman* Kofi had sent his brother, Apollo, and six men to the Coesewijne River in order to fell trees. Therefore Apollo was not present when the second patrol of Vinsaque attacked the Kwinti Maroons again in May 1785 and arrested Frans van Beekhuysen.<sup>67</sup>

Frans van Beekhuysen was found guilty of desertion and murder. The Court of Criminal Justice sentenced him to

be put on a wheel or cross, and be broken on the wheel alive, starting with the legs, until death follows, then his head will be cut off and this will be put on a stake on the gallows-field until it is consumed by the air and the birds, and his body will be buried under the gallows.



Apollo, who had led the Black Rangers to the new village of Kofi, did not derive much benefit from this. After the patrol was finished he became more or less a free man awaiting a possible draft for the Black Rangers. While slaves were holding a big dance on a plantation, he had been celebrating exuberantly with them and he had drunk too much rum. As a result of his drunkenness he deserted his military post. When he was captured five days later, he was sent to Paramaribo. There, in May 1785 he received the same punishment as Frans van Beekhuysen.<sup>68</sup>

In December 1786 the Black Rangers discovered a new village of Kofi, situated on a side creek of the Coesewijne River. Before the black soldiers attacked the village, the Maroons discovered them, and they were able to save themselves by fleeing. They had to leave many tools and a large stock of corn and manioc behind. The provision grounds surrounding this village were approximately fifty acres. A few months later the commander of the troops reported that some Kwinti Maroons had been paddling in the direction of Paramaribo in pirogues stolen from the Amerindians. A group of Amerindians and Black Rangers had discovered and gone after them. A little to the west of Paramaribo they had overtaken the Kwinti, whereupon one Maroon had been killed during the fight. In May 1787 Black Rangers destroyed gardens of the Kwinti near the Coesewijne River. Several soldiers were killed at this occasion as the result of falling into pitfalls. In December 1787 the Black Rangers again destroyed a Kwinti village. This village consisted of thirty-six houses surrounded by extensive provision grounds. Again the Maroons were successful in escaping in time. A few days after the discovery of the village, Amerindians captured and shot dead two escaped Maroons.<sup>69</sup>

A patrol which had been sent to the Kwinti in September 1789 found traces, but no villages or any provision grounds. Two months later a new patrol was more successful. Again extensive provision grounds of the Kwinti and a village of thirty-eight houses was destroyed. At that occasion one Maroon fell into the hands of the Black Rangers. The Court of Policy gave the Maroons no rest. In January 1790 it sent the Black Rangers once more to the Coesewijne River. However, nothing was found this time. The Court of Policy suspected that the Maroons no longer lived in large villages, but had split themselves up into small groups between the Saramacca and the Coesewijne Rivers. In order to investigate whether this suspicion was well founded, several small patrols were sent to the region in the first half of 1790. During these actions, in which Amerindians also participated, three Maroons were killed. However, in November 1790 it became obvious that there was still a large Kwinti village in the area. At the approach of the Black Rangers the Maroons fled. One man was killed. The new Governor, Jurriaan de Friderici, declared at a meeting of the Court of Policy that the

number of Kwinti Maroons had decreased dramatically during the previous years. He expected that they would flee across the Coesewijne River, now that their settlement had been discovered and destroyed again. Therefore the Governor had charged the chiefs of the Amerindians of the Coppename to watch them from that side.<sup>70</sup>

#### SUMMARY AND EPILOGUE

As this article demonstrates, the history of the Kwinti is relatively old, spanning approximately 250 years in fact. The oldest mention of these Maroons that I found in the archives dates from March 1743. Runaway slaves were then living in the area west of Paramaribo in the *Duivelsbroekzwamp*. The place to which the runaway slaves who formed the Kwinti group fled was not felicitous because Amerindians were living there too. Those Indians had no intention of helping the Kwinti or giving them refuge. My research has made clear that Amerindians and Kwinti were at one another's throats. From 1743 to 1761 nothing important on the Kwinti is to be found in the archives, except for bush patrols in 1750, 1756, and 1758.

In 1761 three bush patrols were sent to the Kwinti. Two of these patrols managed to find several villages bordered by extensive provision grounds. The most important village was *Makakondre*. In 1762 the Kwinti were attacked twice more. The achievement of these expeditions clearly showed that a severe blow had been inflicted on the Kwinti at the end of 1761, and in the early part of 1762. Not many Maroons had been captured, but probably a large part of their provisions had been lost. Patrols sent to the *Duivelsbroekzwamp* in the period between 1762 and 1765 found hardly anything worth mentioning. In September 1769 chief Musinga of the pacified Matawai Maroons secretly informed the Governor that several Kwinti were staying with him, and that he had planned to attack their village. By the end of December 1770 Musinga delivered twenty-two Kwinti Maroons to Paramaribo. The captive Maroons were severely punished.

For the reconstruction of the history of the Kwinti Maroons up to the middle of the 1760s, we have to rely on the journals of bush patrols. From the number of villages, houses, and provision grounds that were destroyed by these patrols, the number of Maroons can be estimated at approximately 400 persons. In that period hardly anything was identified about the Maroons themselves. Nor is it known precisely who their chief was in these early times. Around 1770, thanks to some reports of captured Maroons, more is revealed about the leadership among the Kwinti. After the death of *granman* Bokkoe, Kofi succeeded him as chief. For many years Kofi would

remain *granman* of these Maroons. He died in 1827. Because of Kofi, these Maroons are called in the archives Kofimaka Negroes, a designation that stayed in use until the beginning of the twentieth century. Nowadays the Maroons call themselves Kwinti.

During 1775 and 1776 military patrols located three additional Kwinti villages. Then the Kwinti decided to cross the Saramacca River and settle between this river and the Coesewijne River. It was only in December 1782 that a number of soldiers discovered and destroyed two new villages consisting of forty-three and fifty-six houses respectively. The villages were heavily defended as the Maroons had constructed a ring of palisades to fend off the soldiers. One year later the Kwinti took their revenge and attacked the La Bonne Amitié plantation in the Para region. In early December 1783 a military patrol crossed the Saramacca River in search of the raiders. It found and destroyed three Kwinti villages. In 1785 again a new village of the Kwinti – called *Langagron* – was discovered.

After 1790 only a little about the Kwinti can be found in the archives. Probably the Maroons of Kofi had moved quite a long way in a westerly direction, to the area between the Coppename and the Corantijn Rivers, which at that time was uninhabited and where the British colony Berbice started. A side creek of the Nickerie River still bears the name of Kofimaka Creek. In 1792 the Matawai handed over a man who had probably been born into the Kwinti tribe. The Maroon, who said his name was Ogi, had never seen a white man before he was handed over. He stated that the Kwinti were living in seven villages.<sup>71</sup> In the period of time between 1792 and 1802 the documents reveal nothing at all about the Kwinti. In May 1802 Amerindians of the Coppename came to report in Paramaribo that one of their villages had been attacked by Maroons. In the fight eight Amerindians, among whom chief Abraham, had been killed.<sup>72</sup> The reaction to this message is not known. In any case nothing with regard to military actions is to be found in the archives. Only at the turn of the year 1807 to 1808, was a patrol sent to the area between the Saramacca and the Coesewijne Rivers. For two weeks the soldiers looked for Maroons in the area, without finding the slightest traces.<sup>73</sup> In September 1808 the Matawai handed over a runaway slave who had been living with the Kwinti for a number of years. The man said that a few weeks after his flight from the plantation on the Coppename River, he had met a few Kwinti, on their way to raid Amerindians. When after a few days the Maroons returned from their unsuccessful trip – the Amerindians had spotted them in time – he had gone with them. After approximately nine months he had fled from the Kwinti, because they suspected him of *wisi* (black magic).<sup>74</sup> Probably the Kwinti had come to live closer to the colony again, possibly on a side creek of the Coppename River, the Corantijn Creek (Bakhuis 1902:31).

The data regarding the Kwinti remain scarce. In the nineteenth century military patrols were no longer sent after them. Although not officially pacified, they gradually were given that status. A status quo evolved between them and the planters. The Kwinti no longer interfered with the plantation colony and the planters left them alone. It was 1824 before something more was heard about them. In that year the Matawai handed over four runaway slaves they had received from the Kwinti. This emphasizes how settled the Kwinti had already become by that period. First of all they no longer seemed to have any interest in newcomers. It becomes clear from the fact that they handed over these men to the Matawai, that they had regular contact with these pacified Maroons. The runaway slaves were definitely given for a reason. There were agreements on the division of the bounty the authorities gave for handing over runaway slaves. From the fact that the slaves so handed-over were hardly interrogated with regard to their stay with the Kwinti it becomes obvious that the authorities had little interest in the Kwinti. About forty years previously the authorities would have shown a vivid interest in the location of their villages, the numbers of Maroons, and their weapons. In addition to this, they would have used the slaves thus handed-over as guides in bush patrols.<sup>75</sup>

However, the authorities were not entirely uninterested in the Kwinti. In 1829 a civil servant, who had frequent contacts with the Matawai, was made responsible for investigating who the *Coffy Macca Neegers* were. He did not find out a lot on the subject. The only thing he was able to report was that these Maroons were named after their previous chief Kofi, who had died about two years previously.<sup>76</sup>

In the middle of the nineteenth century the Kwinti moved to the Saracca River, where they went to live near the Matawai villages. Some of the Kwinti are still living there in two villages. After a few fights the others went back again in the direction of their previous living area led by their *granman* Noah Andrai. After a period of wandering they settled along the Coppename River. In 1887, twenty-four years after abolition, the Kwinti were finally acknowledged by the authorities as *vrije boschneegers* (free Maroons).<sup>77</sup>

## NOTES

1. For more details on Boni see my book *The Boni Maroon wars in Suriname* (1990b).
2. The oral tradition that they were brothers and came from the same plantation seems untenable. In the archives both Kofi and Boni are designated *Bosch Creoolen* (Bush Creoles), which was the name for runaway slaves who were not born on a plantation but in the *bosch* (jungle). Neither Kofi nor Boni were slaves at any time in their lives.

3. "Another settlement of the Rebels was well known to exist in a Corner of the Colony known by the name of the Lee shore [...] but here the Situation by Ma[r]shes, Quagmires, mud and water is such that it fortifies them, from any attempts of Europeans whatever, nay they are even Indiscoverable by negroes, except by their own, So thick and impenetrable is the forest on that Spot, and overchoaked with thorns-briers, and underwood of every Species. From under these Covers nevertheless these Sable Gentry Sally forth in small parties during the night to rob the Gardens and fields surrounding Parramaribo and carry off[f] the young Women they chance to meet with" (Stedman 1988:84).

4. Charles Brouwn's *Historie der oorlogen met de Marrons of Surinaamsche boschnegers* has been reprinted in De Beet 1984:43-74. The passages that concern the Kwinti Maroons can be found on page 51 (the passage: "Wijders is op ... Visch"), page 56 (the entire page except for the last four lines), and page 64 (the paragraph: "Een detachement ... nagespeurt").

5. The *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (General State Archives, abbreviated in the notes to ARA) in The Hague, the Netherlands, contains most archives with data on the Kwinti-Maroons. Data for this article come in particular from the *Archief van de Sociëteit van Suriname* (code 1.05.03, Archives of the Society of Suriname, abbreviated in the notes: SvS), and from the *Oud-Archief Suriname, Raad van Politie en Crimineele Justitie* (code 1.05.10.02, Old Archives of Suriname, Court of Policy and Criminal Justice, abbreviated in the notes: OAS/RvP).

6. In 1743 the slave Quassie, born at the coast of Guinea around 1690, already was the colony's leading *dresiman* (curer), and *lukuman* (diviner). As an ethnic therapist and expert on healing herbs, he had vast influence not only among blacks and Amerindians, but also among the European colonists (Lichtveld & Voorhoeve 1958:169). For the whites he made himself especially useful in the hunt for Maroons. One year later Governor Johan Mauricius bought Quassie. The most influential black person in Suriname became the teacher of Mauricius' son in *Sranan Tongo*, the English-based Creole language of the slaves, and that of the Caribs and Arowaks. Later on Mauricius manumitted Quassie, who died in 1787. For more information on Quassie see also Price 1979.

7. ARA-SvS 199, Journal of Governor Mauricius March 6, 1743. Interesting is the role of the Amerindians in the hunting down of runaway slaves. Since their revolt of 1678-84 the Amerindians of Suriname had accepted the dominion of the Dutch over Suriname. A peace treaty agreed upon in 1684 dealt with the mutual relations. Among other things it was agreed that neither Caribs nor Arawaks would ever again be used as slaves by the Dutch. As a consequence of this Amerindian revolt many slaves left their plantations and revolted as well. Seven-hundred of them gathered in fortified villages in the Para area. In 1681 they were beaten. The remaining rebellious slaves regrouped themselves under chief Jermes and went to the Coppename River. Three years later Governor Van Aerssen van Sommelsdijck made peace with them, and ever since these *Boschnegers van de Coppename* were recognized as free people with a status equal that of the Amerindians (Hartsinck 1770:649). In the course of history these Maroons mixed with Caribs who were also living in the Coppename region, and thus an ethnic group originated that is described in the archives sometimes as *Indianen van de Coppename*, and other times as *Boschnegers van de Coppename*, and occasionally as *Karboegers van de Coppename*. (A *karboeger* is a person of mixed African-Amerindian origin.) In this article I call this group the "Amerindians of the Coppename".

8. ARA-SvS 199, folio 315-342, Journal of Governor Mauricius October 3, 4, 20, and November 2, 1743.

9. ARA-SvS 199, folio 462, Journal of Governor Mauricius April 25, 1744, and ARA-SvS 200, folio 72, Journal of Governor Mauricius May 7, 1745. In Suriname taxes were levied on the property of slaves, the so-called *Cassa tegen de Wegloopers* (Cash against the Runaways). From the proceeds of these taxes the war against the Maroons was financed. For turning in a

runaway slave a reward of 50 guilders was paid, an amount approximately equal to one-tenth of the price of a new slave. If a slave had hidden himself in a Maroon village, or resisted arrest by using a weapon, such a slave could be killed. Handing in a cut-off right hand was then enough to receive the bounty.

10. The *Hof van Politie en Crimineele Justitie* (Court of Policy and Criminal Justice) formed the governing body of the colony. It was composed of the Governor and (usually) fourteen planters. The Governor was appointed by the Dutch authorities, the planters were elected.

11. ARA-SvS 142, Minutes Court of Policy February 3 and 25, 1750, and SvS 202, Journal of Governor Mauricius February 18, 1750. Kodjo was rewarded for his services by getting his freedom. His former owner, Jacques Boin, was recompensed for half of his taxation value. The new *vrijneger* (freed negro) got a job in the coffee weighhouse against wages of eight *schellingen* a week.

12. See note 7.

13. ARA-SvS 201, Journal of Governor Mauricius March 13 and 16, May 3 and 4, 1751. Also ARA-SvS 143, Minutes Court of Policy May 4, 1751.

14. In Suriname it was assumed that Africans had to first adjust to the colony. During this adjustment period, running away was not yet considered to be a crime.

15. ARA-SvS 202, Journal of Governor Mauricius May 8, 1751, and SvS 143, Minutes Court of Policy May 27, 1751.

16. ARA-SvS 203, folio 326, Journal of Governor Wigbold Crommelin February 6, 1756.

17. An acre is 4047 m<sup>2</sup>.

18. ARA-SvS 150, Minutes Court of Policy September 9, 1758.

19. Gemeente Archief Amsterdam: Archives Marquette PA 231 no. 298. Annotation (by Jean Nepveu) of Herlein 1718. *Koromantijnen* (Coromantes) were slaves, named after the Fante town, Koromantijn, on the Goldcoast, a port from which many Africans were exported to the New World. The slaves bought in Koromantijn were generally of the Akan-speaking group; most of them war captives.

20. ARA-SvS 151, Minutes Court of Policy February 23, July 2 and 9, and September 6, 1759.

21. ARA-SvS 153, Minutes Court of Policy March 5, 1761.

22. The agricultural system of the Maroons was the same as that of the Amerindians and the slaves on the plantations. It is known as shifting cultivation. A piece of forest was cut down, the larger trees were left. Cutting down the forest normally started at the beginning of the long dry season, in July and August. The chopped wood was usually left untouched for a while and when it was reasonably dry – which was usually in the course of October – it was set on fire. The fire burnt the leaves and the twigs, while the large trunks which had not been cut down remained scorched on the provision grounds. The ground was then ready to receive crops. Some crops were planted directly after the fire. Other crops, however, had to wait until the rainy season had begun.

23. ARA-SvS 153, Minutes Court of Policy December 3 and 4, 1761.

24. ARA-SvS 153, Minutes Court of Policy December 24, 1761.

25. ARA-SvS 153, Minutes Court of Policy December 3, 4 and 24, 1761.

26. ARA-SvS 153, Minutes Court of Policy December 24, 1761.

27. ARA-SvS 154, Minutes Court of Policy February 2, 1762.

28. ARA-SvS 154, Minutes Court of Policy February 2 and 10, 1762.

29. ARA-SvS 154, Minutes Court of Policy February 25, March 10, July 29, August 10, and September 30, 1762.
30. ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy February 4, 5, 13, 17, and 18, and April 9, 1765.
31. *Ketting* (chain): 66 Rhineland feet (20.72 meters).
32. ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy May 17, 1765.
33. ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy June 12, 1765.
34. ARA-SvS 157, Minutes Court of Policy October 2 and November 1, 1765.
35. ARA-SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy October 18, December 1 and 3, 1766.
36. Apart from the black slaves, the workforce of the Surinamese plantations could include in the eighteenth century "red slaves"; mostly "wild" Amerindians who had been transported to Paramaribo by the Carib and Arawak to be sold as slaves. However, their numbers were relatively small. To get an idea: from 1730 until 1742 a number of 492 "wild" Amerindians were sold as slaves in Paramaribo (ARA-SvS 271, folio 227).
37. ARA-SvS 158, Minutes Court of Policy December 15, 17, and 19, 1766.
38. ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy July 15, 1767.
39. ARA-OAS/RvP 817, Court of Criminal Justice 1770: folio 234 *et seq.* Because of Kofi, after 1780 these Maroons are called in the archives *Kofimaka-Neegers*, a designation that was current until the beginning of the twentieth century. Nowadays the Maroons call themselves Kwinti, a corruption of 'Corantijn' Creek, the name of a side creek of the Coppename River, where they used to live for some considerable time in the nineteenth century (Bakhuis 1902:31).
40. The punishment of *Spaanse bok* consisted of binding the prisoner's hands together while his arms encircled his raised knees, after which a stick was thrust between the hollow of the knees and the tied arms. This stick was firmly secured to the ground, whereupon the slave, lying on his side, was beaten with tamarind rods.
41. There three of the captured Maroons were restored to the plantations where they had come from. One woman, a *Bosch Creool*, and five children were auctioned. A total of 860 guilders was raised for them. ARA-SvS 159, Minutes Court of Policy December 14, 1767, and January 16, 1768. ARA-SvS 160, Minutes Court of Policy February 2, 1768.
42. ARA-OAS/*Gouvernementssecretarie* (code 1.05.10.01), inv. no 9: December 21, 1767.
43. A rectangular box of wickerwork of the warimbo plant (*Ischnosiphon gracile*).
44. Each of them received f 25,- as a reward and an encouragement. ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy September 7, and October 2, 1769.
45. See Hoogbergen 1990:244.
46. ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy October 4, and December 6, 1769.
47. ARA-OAS/RvP 817, Court of Criminal Justice 1770, folio 234 *et seq.*
48. *Granman* Abini, afraid that because of this raid peace would be violated, decided to attack Beku and Musinga. He was not very successful, however. He was killed at the beginning of the fight (Price 1990:79-85).
49. ARA-SvS 161, Minutes Court of Policy December 11, 1769, and ARA-SvS 162, Minutes Court of Policy December 5, 1770.
50. ARA-SvS 162, Minutes Court of Policy November 24, December 5 and 12, 1770.

51. The surveyor Christoph van Henemann was sent to the captured Kwinti village in order to map it. This map has been preserved and has been printed among other places, in Price 1990:114. ARA-SvS 163, Minutes Court of Policy December 28, 1770, January 16, and February 18, 1771.
52. ARA-SvS 164, Minutes Court of Policy December 10, 1772; ARA-SvS 165, Minutes Court of Policy March 30, and December 16, 1773; ARA-SvS 166, Minutes Court of Policy February 28, and May 16, 1774, and ARA-SvS 167, Minutes Court of Policy January 4, 1775.
53. ARA-SvS 167, Minutes Court of Policy March 20, 1775.
54. ARA-SvS 167, Minutes Court of Policy October 16, 1775.
55. Brouwn 1796:100-7; ARA-SvS 168, Minutes Court of Policy March 27, 1776.
56. ARA-SvS 168, Minutes Court of Policy November 16, 1776.
57. ARA-SvS 170, Minutes Court of Policy March 23, and September 28, 1778; ARA-SvS 171, Minutes Court of Policy February 18-24, 1779.
58. ARA-SvS 171, Minutes Court of Policy April 22, May 12, August 23, and November 12, 1779.
59. ARA-SvS 172, Minutes Court of Policy: December 27, 1779.
60. ARA-SvS 377, Letter from Governor Bernard Texier to Amsterdam: December 24, 1782.
61. ARA-SvS 175, Minutes Court of Policy November 27, 1783.
62. Bienvenue was one of Kofi's deputy-chiefs. He went along on the expedition to La Bonne Amitié. More information on him and his village can be found in ARA-OAS/RvP 844, Court of Criminal Justice 1784, folio 17.
63. ARA-SvS 379, Letters of Governor Bernard Texier to Amsterdam: November 27 and 30, December 2 and 22, 1783; ARA-OAS/RvP 846, Court of Criminal Justice April 10, 1785.
64. ARA-OAS/RvP 846, Court of Criminal Justice April 10 and 12, May 15, 1785.
65. ARA-SvS 382: Commander De Friderici's report of April 3, 1785.
66. ARA-OAS/RvP 846, Court of Criminal Justice May 21, 1785; ARA-SvS 382, A. Vinsaque's report of May 10, 1785.
67. ARA-OAS/RvP 846, Court of Criminal Justice May 15 and 27, 1785.
68. ARA-OAS/RvP 846, Court of Criminal Justice May 21 and 27, 1785.
69. ARA-SvS 178, Minutes Court of Policy December 11, 1786, March 5, July 11, December 24, 1787.
70. ARA-SvS 180, Minutes Court of Policy February 22, and May 28, 1790; ARA-SvS 184, Minutes Court of Policy November 4 and December 15, 1790; ARA-SvS 394, Journals of A. Katzman of September 18, November 26, 1789, and January 22, 1790.
71. ARA-SvS 399: Letters of Governor Jurriaan de Friderici to Amsterdam, 1792, folio 693. Unfortunately the report is very confused and hardly readable.
72. ARA-OAS/RvP 182, *Defensie Notulen* Court of Policy May 3, 1802.
73. ARA-OAS/RvP 189, *Defensie Notulen* Court of Policy January 8, 1808.
74. ARA-OAS/RvP 190, *Defensie Notulen* Court of Policy September 30, 1808.
75. ARA-OAS/RvP 913, Court of Criminal Justice July 26, 1824.



76. ARA-Suriname na 1828; *Commissariaat voor de Inlandsche Bevolking* 4: October 27, 1829. In this archive another name for Kofi is also mentioned: Krispijn.
77. ARA-Koloniën 1850-1899, *Gouverneursjournaal Suriname*, March 7, 1887 no. 1307.

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## WHAT HISTORY TELLS US ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENT OF CREOLE IN GUADELOUPE<sup>1</sup>

Many scholars have expressed the need for accurate and extensive studies of the socio-historical context in which creole languages developed.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, as rightly noted by Lawrence Carrington (1987:89), so far "[we] have contended ourselves with seeking the snippets of history that would support postures frequently adopted before the quest [...]." Much too often, creolists have made strong but unsubstantiated claims, or have accepted without any thorough investigation a number of preconceived ideas on which they have built fragile hypotheses concerning the genesis of creole languages. One such notion, for instance, is the commonplace assertion that, in the Caribbean, the white settlers, fearing a revolt that would have compromised their grand projects of exploitation, systematically separated Africans of the same ethnic origin. The immediate consequence of such a policy would have been the impossibility for particular African ethno-linguistic communities to be maintained and therefore for African languages to be transmitted.

Such an argument has been amply used by two major hypotheses, namely the polygenetist and the universalist theories. The polygenetist Robert Chaudenson, for example, writes that under such circumstances, the persistence of a "horizontal ethnic conscience [was] impossible," and that "all traditions would disappear among the slaves, who had been deliberately chosen young, and for whom it did not take a long time to forget even their native languages" (Chaudenson 1979:55). He explains that this memory loss occurred because "as soon as [a slave] is introduced into colonial society, he or she becomes involved in a very constraining process of deculturation (loss of his/her original language and culture) and of acculturation (ac-

quisition of Creole and his/her new culture)" (Chaudenson 1979:54-55). As a result of that "forgetting," the role of African languages in the development of Creole would be null or insignificant, while European languages – along with some "simplification" process – would be wholly responsible for it.

This view is shared only partially by Derek Bickerton, the strongest defender of the universalist position, for whom a biological program rather than European languages are responsible for creole structures. It is Bickerton's belief indeed that the break in the transmission of both African and European languages was so sudden and severe that the first generation of Caribbean-born children found themselves stuck with an extremely rudimentary, "degenerate" pidgin as their only model. Such a pidgin being too deficient to meet the children's cognitive and communicative needs, they had, in the absence of any adequate input, to resort to some innate linguistic program in order to expand the pidgin and make it viable (Bickerton 1984:174).

In this view, the bioprogram determines creole structures. The inability of African languages to serve as a model is, according to Bickerton (1979:6), ultimately due to the fact that in order to minimize the risk of slave revolts, "plantation owners deliberately recruited slaves from as many different language communities as they could."<sup>3</sup> The result of such a policy, Bickerton claims, would have been the coexistence on every plantation of a great number of different African languages, which made them all equally socially useless (1979:10). In order to survive, the children were then compelled to make the "specific choice" to learn the pidgin and reject their parents' language because, no matter how deficient, the pidgin was still the most effective if not the only tool of socialization offered them (1979:10, 14). Bickerton further argues that in the Caribbean creolization took place at a very early stage, as soon as the first generation of slave children emerged (1984:173). The importance of an early expansion of the pidgin cannot be underestimated. Pidgins that do not undergo expansion through the bioprogram still have the resource to complexify with time, by borrowing from superstrate and substrate languages. Universals, in Bickerton's view, do not play any particular role in pidginization (1977:55). As Bickerton (1984:178) puts it,

The richer the pidgin, the richer the input to the creole, hence the less the deficit between input and the minimal necessary structure for a natural language; conversely, the more impoverished the pidgin, the greater that deficit, hence the greater the demand on the language-creating capacity of the species.

It is therefore crucial to prove that the conditions described by Bickerton, in particular the non-transmission of African languages and the existence of

an early generation of children, would have been met for Caribbean creoles to be able to be what Bickerton claims, namely a reflection of the bioprogram.

However, the evidence presented by either the polygenetists or the universalists to dismiss any possibly significant role of African languages is far from convincing. Chaudenson, for example, while addressing more particularly the development of Creole in the French colonies, fails to provide historical evidence based on precise sociological and anthropological elements to support his strong claims. Contrary to what one would expect, given the potential import of his arguments, Chaudenson does not identify the particular historical documents from which he derives his information about the systematic separation of Africans of the same ethnic group in French colonies. Furthermore, the only evidence that he presents to support the "deculturation/acculturation" hypothesis is one sentence quoted from Père Pelleprat (1655), who notes that the Africans learned French as soon as they could "in order to be understood by their masters on whom they depend for everything" (Chaudenson 1979:13, 15, 22). How it could be deduced from that one sentence that the Africans completely forgot their languages, along with all their traditions, remains a mystery. Had he read Pelleprat more extensively, Chaudenson would have learned, among other things, that African languages were used by the French missionaries in order to evangelize the Africans. Pelleprat (1655:58-59) notes: "We even translated in their [African] languages the Pater, the Ave, the Credo and the Commandments [...]." Indeed, anyone who studies the history of the French colonization of the Caribbean will find absolutely no proof of a deliberate separation of the Africans on an ethnic basis. Also, Chaudenson's contention that the slaves were chosen young is made on the basis of one quote from Labat (Chaudenson 1977:266). According to Labat, slave owners preferred young slaves since they were supposedly more malleable. Although this preference is quite consistent with the logic of slavery, it by no means implies that the masters actually had control over the choice of slaves of a particular age group. In fact, in Martinique, which Chaudenson (1977:263) uses as an example, slaves under the age of 15 made up only 15.1% of the total slave population in 1660 (Schnakenbourg 1977:44).<sup>4</sup>

Unfortunately, Bickerton's treatment of history is in no way more extensive than Chaudenson's. As a matter of fact, the small number of children actually born in Martinique after twenty-five years of colonization raises serious questions about the ephemerality of the pidginization process and casts doubts about the creolization process in the Caribbean as Bickerton conceives it.

Using the case of Guadeloupe, it is my intention to question the validity

of the claim made about the insignificant role of African languages: I will defend a quite different position, namely that in reality, African languages played a central role in the life of their speakers for a very long time. In order to reassess the importance of African languages and culture during slavery, it is necessary to review the socio-historical context in which Creole developed in Guadeloupe, as to determine who was speaking to whom, and what the slaves' experience was like.

The relevant part of the history of Guadeloupe can be divided *grosso modo* into three major periods: 1635-1670; 1670-1720; and 1720-1848. The first Europeans to land in Guadeloupe were the Spaniards in 1493. Despite many attempts, they were unsuccessful in colonizing the island, which was finally seized by the French in 1635. The French presence in the Caribbean had begun around 1625 with the colonization of Saint-Christophe, an island that the French and the British shared until 1702. Prior to the French invasion of Guadeloupe, 20,000 to 25,000 Caribs were living on the island (Lara 1979:24). The first distinguishable period was determined by the cohabitation of these three different groups: the Caribs, the French, and the Africans. That coexistence took place within a context of general violence and merciless struggle for survival.<sup>5</sup>

For the first eight months, the French and the Caribs coexisted peacefully. Extensive documents attest to a cooperation between them, with the Caribs introducing the French to Guadeloupe and its resources (Lara 1979:18; Gautier 1985:12). They developed a language of communication that Père Breton (1929:49) describes as "Spanish, French, Carib pell-mell." But that peaceful relationship ended when the French conspired to enslave the Caribs and seize their women. Consequently, a terrible war ensued which ended with the eradication of the Caribs. By 1687, there were only forty-three left on the island (Peytraud 1973:133).

There were primarily two major groups of whites: those who could pay their way to Guadeloupe and those who could not (Debien 1951:9). The latter were indentured servants, poor, illiterate people who had to work for three years for their masters in exchange for their travel costs to the island. They formed the majority of the white population and started to arrive in Guadeloupe in 1643 (Debien 1951:147). All historians agree that their living conditions were extremely difficult due to the mistreatment and overwork (Satineau 1928:2-3; Abénon 1984:62). As a result, a great number of them died (Gisler 1965:161; Abénon 1984:355). The condition of these indentured servants was very close to that of the African slaves with whom they often worked, sometimes lived, and occasionally escaped (Satineau 1928:74; Debien 1951:256; Gautier 1985:161).

We do not know the precise nature of the linguistic relationship between

the white indentured servants and the African slaves. The language they used in order to communicate is referred to as "broken" or "corrupted" French by the French missionaries who wrote about its existence. Père Duertre (1667-71:76-7) suggests that this language was the same as that used by the Caribs and the French.

As noted earlier, the first contacts between the Caribs and the Africans took place in 1501. Unfortunately, we have no reports on their coexistence then. We find better documentation in the seventeenth century, when Africans and Caribs often rebelled and escaped together, sometimes married, and were evangelized together (Breton 1929:80; Ly 1957:10; Abénon 1984:80). During that period, tobacco, though not the only plant cultivated, dominated the economy of Guadeloupe. There was a proliferation of small units of production, with an average of twenty workers, African slaves and one or two indentured servants (Abénon 1984:73).

From the very beginning, there was competition between the white and the black labor force. By 1647, the planters had already shown a clear preference for the Africans; they were cheaper and constituted a more stable (that is, more reliable) work force (Debien 1951:253-4). By 1656, there were more Africans than whites and with time, this disproportion became even more important (Satineau 1928:285; Debien 1974:265).

The year 1654 is significant for Guadeloupe because it marks the beginning of the "Sugar Revolution" (Schnakenbourg 1973:25; Vanony-Frisch 1985:5). Although sugar cane had been cultivated in Guadeloupe since 1644, the arrival in 1654 of very rich Dutch Jews expelled from Brazil at a time when the production of tobacco experienced economic problems, led to the transformation of Guadeloupe into a sugar island (Chatillon 1983:43).

That major change culminated between 1660 and 1670 with the substitution of large factories for small workshops (Vanony-Frisch 1985:6). White indentured servants were no longer needed – (there was no land for them) – and they gradually disappeared, while Africans were being massively imported and concentrated on plantations called *habitations* in Guadeloupe.

The period 1670-1720 was one of transition, and the structures of the plantation system based on the production of sugar were progressively built and reinforced. In 1661, there were 71 sugar factories; by 1719, there were 169 (Schnakenbourg 1977:85-6). Evidence suggests that the augmentation of the African population closely parallels the development of the sugar industry. In 1671, African slaves represented 56% of the population; in 1684, 60.7%; in 1696, 62.3%; and in 1720, 66% (Schnakenbourg 1977:87, Abénon 1984:566). These economic and demographic trends persisted. By 1763, there were 446 sugar factories and by 1765, African slaves made up at least 86% of the total population (Schnakenbourg 1977:41, 87).



Slave owners intentionally underestimated the number of slaves in order to pay less taxes (Frossard 1789:347, Peytraud 1973:132). For Schnakenbourg (1977:40), it is "unquestionable that the real number of slaves was considerably greater than the number indicated by the census [...] without it being possible, unfortunately, to evaluate exactly in what proportion." On the other hand, white indentured servants steadily disappeared. Abénon (1984:64) indicates that they were 800 in 1662, 600 in 1685, and only 175 in 1730. Between 1730 and 1740, they had completely vanished.

On the social level, the major consequence of that evolution was a clear racialization of relationships. Actually, that evolution was already existent in the attitudes of the poor whites, who, since 1660, had not wanted to work with African slaves nor assimilate with them. Debien (1951:256-57) identifies this new rejection as a self-defense mechanism. Poor whites who remained in Guadeloupe would often become overseers.

The white planters were quite conscious of their ever-increasing numerical disadvantage and legalized their supremacy by publishing *Le Code Noir*, in which the relationships and obligations of each group were clearly established. That racialization was functional and was supposed to protect the white minority from the vast majority of Africans. In 1711, interracial marriages were forbidden, and in 1713, emancipation from slavery was made quite difficult (Lacour 1855:400). A number of discriminatory laws were passed forbidding the so-called "free people of color," for example, to occupy certain professions or wear luxurious clothing – "privileges" which were reserved specifically for white people (Fouchard 1953:95). The major result of that demographic and social evolution – the important numerical disproportion between blacks and whites and racism – was a considerably segregated society. According to Abénon (1984:536), "[t]he relationships that still existed at the end of the seventeenth century between whites and blacks became more and more infrequent."

By the period 1720-1848, the Sugar Revolution was complete. The social structures of the new system were firmly established and worked efficiently. According to the three existing studies on that topic, Schnakenbourg (1973, 1977) and Vanony-Frisch (1985), the cultivation of sugar employed 50% of the slaves in Guadeloupe until 1790, but these proportions became increasingly important: 68% in 1824, 75% in 1831, and 81% in 1835 (Schnakenbourg 1977:48; Vanony-Frisch 1985:8). The average number of slaves living on a sugar plantation was 112, among whom 83 were adults, that is persons aged from 14 to 60 (Schnakenbourg 1973:79). Nonetheless, significant differences could exist from one plantation to another. Schnakenbourg (1977:79) cites one 381-slave sugar factory, and another with 14 slaves. The cultivation of coffee, often associated with that of cocoa, employed about

25% of the slaves until 1790, and even less later on (Schnakenbourg 1977:48; Vanony-Frisch 1985:8). The average number of slaves on a coffee factory was 50 (Vanony-Frisch 1985:8). The rest of the slaves were growing such crops as bananas, corn, millet, and yams in small units of production, or were domestics or artisans in the city (Schnakenbourg 1977:67; Vanony-Frisch 1985:9). According to Jacques Adelaide-Merlande (1985:5), in 1836, 12.7% of the slaves in Guadeloupe were urban slaves. The number of slaves continued to increase throughout that period. In 1765, there were at least 75,575; in 1790, 90,139; in 1835, 96,322 (Schnakenbourg 1977:97).

Because of African labor, the French became richer each day. But what was it like to be a slave in Guadeloupe? Unfortunately, we do not have access to the personal memoirs of any slave. However, we can try to comprehend that reality through the relations of eye-witnesses and through socio-economic studies.

The most frequent element noticed about the slave population is its high rate of mortality at all ages. According to Gabriel Debien (1974:343-44), "[i]n the French colonies, over one half of the slaves died before the seasoning process was complete." Children also died in great numbers (Gaston-Martin 1948:125). Gautier (1985:98) calculated that in the eighteenth century, "one third of the new-born slave babies" died from tetanus. The causes of that high mortality rate are quite easy to understand: the trauma at the capture in Africa and the deportation, daily humiliations in an openly racist society, overwork (field slaves worked at least 14 hours a day during the eighteenth century; Schnakenbourg 1980:56), malnutrition (Vanony-Frisch 1985:57), and deplorable sanitary conditions (Raynald 1774:150). The situation was all the more dramatic because the birth rate was not able to compensate: "[a]s far as natality is concerned, the major characteristics of the slaves was to have few children" (Debien 1974:348). Arlette Gautier (1985:123), who studied female slaves, comes to the same conclusion: "[t]he great proportion of women without any living child is one of the essential features of Caribbean demography." In Guadeloupe, 32% of eighteenth-century women had no children (Gautier 1985:123). Many of them became sterile because of their mistreatment by the whites, or refused to procreate, aborting any pregnancies (Debien 1974:363-65; Gautier 1985:97-98). It should also be added that the white planters never really cared about natality. Interested only in immediate profit (Vanony-Frisch 1985:58), they saw their slaves as tools of production rather than reproduction (Debien 1974:350). Children were seen as a burden to the extent that they were unproductive, needed to be fed (Vanony-Frisch 1985:58), and hindered their mother's work (Debien 1974:351). The planters sporadically tried to encourage natality, but only when the slave-trade was faltering (Gautier 1985:260).

As a result, Guadeloupe's slave population was never able to increase naturally (Fallope 1983:3; Abénon 1978:52). It increased at all only because new Africans were introduced in Guadeloupe (Abénon 1984:71). All historians agree on this point. Nicole Vanony-Frisch (1985:65) writes that "only the arrival of Africans enables the increase of the population." According to Gaston-Martin (1948:102), "the black population is increased only by importations." And Peytraud is even more precise: "[w]ithout the trade, the Caribbean population would have completely disappeared in about forty years." Men and women were used up, thrown away, and replaced. This was the implacable logic of capitalism and slavery. A field slave was usually active for fifteen years, but really "profitable" for seven or eight years (Schnakenbourg 1980:52). But this replenishment did not necessarily take, for a number of reasons. In fact, the planters in Guadeloupe constantly complained about the lack of manpower, and many of them sought solutions in trying to limit their loss of slaves (Gaston-Martin 1948:25; Schnakenbourg 1971:113).

It is from that perspective that Poyen de Sainte-Marie (1792:42), an old planter, writes about newly acquired slaves that: "[it was] necessary to attend closely their needs, entrusting them to slaves of their nations who are also recognized as the best subjects." Sainte-Marie (1792:48) also insists on the necessity of lodging the slaves of the same ethnic origin together: "[t]heir compatriots [...] must, as much as possible be mixed among them and lodged in their neighborhoods." Finally, concerning the ethnic origin of the slaves, the author recommends to the planter "who buys Africans, to give preference to the nation that succeeded best in the workplace" (Sainte-Marie 1792:48). From the planter's statement, we can infer that slaves from the same ethnic origin, far from being separated, had the opportunity to live in contact with one another. This was the will of the planters, because it was obviously in their interests. Moreover, we have plenty of other evidence that slaves of the same ethnic background were in close contact.

The existence of distinct African groups can best be understood when examining revolts. For example, concerning the 1656 uprising initiated by two groups, Debien (1974:394) refers to "a group from Angola and another from Cape Verde." Lucien-René Abénon (1983:63) also says that the 1736 revolt was planned by the "Mondong group." However, there is no evidence of a colonial policy in Guadeloupe and other French Caribbean colonies which stipulated the separation of African ethnic groups. This was confirmed quite emphatically by Debien.<sup>6</sup> Similarly, one would seek in vain in *Le Code Noir* or any other legal text any reference to the systematic division of slaves of the same ethnic origin (Petit 1777). *Le Code* anticipated the fears that the planters had with regard to slave unrest. It forbade, for exam-

ple, the unauthorized congregation of slaves. This stipulation was a result of the planters' fears that a meeting of slaves for dancing and drinking would end in pillage. One would expect thus that if planters had wanted to separate slaves of the same ethnic origin for security reasons, such a law would have been included in *Le Code Noir*, which is not the case.

Labat (1742:46) gives us more evidence of great interest when he reports that in 1698, one of his slaves taught him the Arada language (Ewe):

As one group of our Negroes of Fonds Saint-Jacques [Martinique] was Arada, and as it was important to me to know what was happening among them, I directed one of them to give me some rules of his language, and in a short time, I knew enough of it to understand all they were saying to each other and to explain my thoughts to them.

Aside from the proof given by Labat that the slaves could speak their languages, the attitude of the white master was neither to stop the slaves from speaking their language nor to "simplify" his own, but simply to learn the language spoken by the slaves.<sup>7</sup>

In fact, the ties existing between Africans of the same ethnic origin could be so close that the original status of the newly enslaved Africans was well conserved. This is what Pelleprat (1655:52), who gave witness of what he saw and personally experienced, reports about female slaves who had been married to kings in Africa and who were still venerated and respected by their former subjects:

All the slaves who had been their husbands' subjects respect them as much and obey them as if they were still their kings [...]. These so-called vassals care so much for their kings that they do everything possible to bring them food and to support them: they go fishing or hunting on Sundays and feast days, and they even steal the best and finest things they find in order to bring them to them.<sup>8</sup>

Dutertre (1667-71:492) reports another interesting fact:

I saw one of our Negroes kill five or six chickens, fix them in his own way, and spend over three pints of liquor in order to entertain five or six slaves from his nation who had come to visit him. As I blame him for his prodigality, he told me that he had made that expense as much to show them that he was all right, and not miserable as so and so from their nation (which is their commonest subject of conversation) as to manifest his affection to them.

The same author, commenting on marriages between slaves, also gave more evidence that Africans with the same ethno-linguistic background were in close contact since endogamic unions were not uncommon (Dutertre 1667-71:471):

It is true that we must praise the planters for doing everything they can in order to give

their slaves women from their nation, they love them incomparably more than any others.

Dutertre (1667-71:492) also notes that it is at the occasion of christening that the greatest feasts are organized, because the slaves "invite all negroes from their nation, as well as those from their plantation." Marriages as well seemed to provoke similar opportunities. Léonard (1787:207-8) attended a "Negro wedding" on a plantation in 1787:

Different nations of blacks appeared, each with a distinctive flag. The bride, holding her apron's corner with both hands, stood in the middle of the circle, and each woman came in front of her to dance. Each nation had its own dance; hers simply consisted of tapping her foot in measure.

The existence of distinctive flags is also observed in Martinique by Adélaïde-Merlande, who studied servile associations which regrouped urban slaves "according to their nation." A flag indicated that this group was composed of Caplaous or Ibos. Such associations existed in Guadeloupe, but unfortunately, they have never been studied (Adélaïde-Merlande 1985:20-21).

At the end of this survey, it seems quite obvious to me that in Guadeloupe there is absolutely no substantive evidence of the "very constraining process" of deculturation/acculturation invoked by Chaudenson to support his polygenetic stance. In fact, Debien and Houdaille, historians who have devoted their lives to the study of slavery in the French Caribbean colonies, write that "[t]he African way of life is the slaves' everyday way of life." They add that "there are two parallel worlds which will never mix" (Debien & Houdaille 1964:194). For example, the slaves, despite their Christian names, kept their African names. Creole slaves as well could have African names (Debien 1974:72-73; Fallope 1983:18). The coexistence of two parallel worlds, with fundamentally different cultural values, is best attested by Casimir Dugoujon (1845:75), who was afflicted by something he saw at church as late as 1845:

The crucifix, the statues of the virgin, the saints' images are to them [the slaves] nothing but fetishes. They kept within Catholicism, all the pagan and Muslim practices that they brought from Africa. Is not it a horrible sight to see a multitude of men assault the altar and there, next to a French priest, at the most solemn time of sacrifice, alternately postern, raise hands, outstretch their arms, trace signs on the ground and kiss it, posture themselves as though in a mosque or a pagoda?

If we adopt R.A. Hall's concept of the linguistic life-cycle (Hall 1962), in which "creolization" means the adoption of a pidgin as a first language, then creolization could come about only among the descendants of Africans who

had lost the (primary) use of their ancestors' languages. This loss did not affect those blacks brought directly from Africa, but rather came about in later generations. There were societies that regrouped Africans on the basis of their ethnic identity; there were endogamic marriages; Africans from the same "nation" were in close and continuous contact. Even though no specific mention is made of the language used by them in their interactions, it is hard to believe that they would use a pidgin instead of their native language, an important part of that ethnic identity that they were precisely trying to preserve in exile. Adelaide-Merlande (1985) also reports, about the ethnic urban associations already mentioned, that their members were African-born and Creole slaves as well: they used to chose a king who could be African-born! This simply further indicates that the reference to Africa was still strong, even among Creole slaves. The fact that they were born in Guadeloupe did not mean that they should forget where they ultimately came from, and would not want to claim such an identity.

There is no particular reason either to believe that Creole slave children, whose parents were born in Africa, could not be consistently exposed to African languages and learn them as their first language. Beside the fact that one does not understand why a child would reject his/her parents' language, the multiplicity of African languages on a particular plantation was certainly less great than assumed since planters had preferences that they tried to satisfy as much as possible. This simply means that African languages were not necessarily socially useless, and must have continued to play an integrative as well as self-contrastive function. It is a well-established fact that there are no genuinely monolingual speakers: people have multiple communicative needs that are taken care of by multiple codes, which make up their speech repertoire. It is therefore quite arbitrary and reductive to focus solely on the children's need to communicate with playmates who do not have the same ancestral language for example, because this does not tell the whole story. To that respect, Carrington (1987:82) is absolutely right to substitute the notion of "communication system" for that of "language":

*We ask What language is the child learning? What linguistic entity is his target? The fact is that the child is not learning a language; he/she is learning a communicative system that may include several entities that we call languages, functioning in complementary manners to meet his/her total communication need.*

Another point that is equally clear is that creolization was a long-term process. The natural implication is that pidginization itself went on for a very long time: in other words, the allegation made by Bickerton that, in the Caribbean, pidgin speakers disappeared many hundred years ago, cannot

be sustained. Indeed, evidence drawn from the above historical account for the development of Guadeloupean colonial society suggests that the process of adopting creole by the blacks was not an even or complete process, affecting all of them at the same time or in the same manner. Therefore, the pidgin/creole was used by some, but at the same time only occasionally by others, and not at all by the very newcomers, who as has been shown, were always numerous in Guadeloupe because of the high rate of mortality and because of the strategy adopted by the planters to replace and increase their "black cheptel."

In Guadeloupe, in 1848, the year of the abolition of slavery, 18% of the slaves were African-born,<sup>9</sup> although the slave trade had been forbidden since 1834. Moreover, Curtin (1969:88) indicates that African-born men and women were introduced in Guadeloupe as late as 1870. The last pidgin speakers in Guadeloupe died, at most, 90 or 100 years ago. As for children, they never made up more than one-third of the total population (Abénou 1984:70), and many plantations did not have any children at all. Gautier (1985:75), for example, reports that between 1664 and 1671, there were no children on one-third of the plantations. Consequently, it seems undue to place too strong an emphasis on whatever role the children could have played in the expansion of the pidgin, while the role of adult speakers (and of their languages, of course) was probably greater and should be reconsidered as such. Furthermore, the coexistence and interactions of Creole and Pidgin speakers for many hundred years obviously invites us to question whether pidginization and creolization can or should really be seen as two drastically different processes, as Bickerton suggests (1977).

The Sugar Revolution, which started in the 1660s in Guadeloupe, induced significant changes in the island's economic and social structures. Prior to that "revolution," three groups, the Caribs, the French, and the Africans, were present on the island and maintained frequent contact with one another. After the extermination of the Caribs, only the Africans – by far the most numerous – and the French remained in a highly segregated society.

This study hopefully will have rendered clear that creolization did not take place in a cultural and linguistic vacuum. Evidence suggests that the new language and the original culture that emerged through creolization in Guadeloupe developed in an environment where Africa was strongly and deeply present. While the Guadeloupean language was developing, African languages were still widely spoken.

Equally obvious should be the fact that the social and linguistic context in which creole developed was much more complex than has been generally assumed. Nonetheless, because of their failure to take into consideration

accurate and extensive socio-historical information, many creolists have presented a highly simplified and therefore distorted view of what had really happened during slavery, and have felt authorized to dismiss *a priori* the role of African languages in the development of creole languages.

However, if our goal really is to understand what creolization consists of, this complexity must be taken into account, even though theoretical and practical obstacles render that enterprise extremely delicate. In order to become better creolists, we should strive to become better historians.

### NOTES

1. I wish to thank Ian Hancock, Brenda Stevenson, and Denise Davis for their kindness. This paper is dedicated to them. Translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.
2. Sankoff, for example, stated that "in order to understand what happened in any particular case, we must become better historians. We must learn more about the conditions on the plantation in order to understand what kinds of communication existed there, and how these affected pidginization and creolization" [Sankoff 1979:25].
3. As for European languages, they were simply socially inaccessible to the children (Sankoff 1979:10).
4. It is a well-established fact that the Dutch who played an outstanding role in the slave trade introduced very few children in the Caribbean, in particular during the seventeenth century (Postma 1970:104).
5. The French, for example, were according to Dutertre (1667-71:82), reduced to anthropophagy in 1635.
6. Debien, personal correspondence, October 15, 1986.
7. Such an attempt made by the whites to learn African languages, far from being unique, was already observed during the Middle Passage (Belu 1800:49).
8. Dutertre (1667-71:464) also reported a similar case, and Debien (1974:122-23) wondered whether African commanders were chosen among those who had been village chiefs or royalty in their country.
9. Fallope, personal correspondence, August 22, 1989.

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TOWARDS A CULTURAL HISTORY OF AMERICA

*Caliban and other essays*, by ROBERTO FERNÁNDEZ RETAMAR. (Translated by Edward Baker, Foreword by Fredric Jameson.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1989. xvi + 139 pp. (Cloth US \$35.00, Paper US \$14.95)

*Deconstructing America: representations of the other*, by PETER MASON. London: Routledge, 1990. vii + 216 pp. (Cloth £ 30.00)

Both these books belong to a field of study that aims to analyze the ways in which Europe, or more generally the West, has represented to itself in words and images the non-European world. Edward Said's *Orientalism* inaugurated that field in 1978, immediately constituting a corpus of work through its author's recognition of precedent and analogue, then acting as indispensable touchstone to the subsequent development of the field during the 1980s. Although Said's work deals with the orient, however defined, a surprising amount of ideological analysis of colonial representation had already taken place within the Caribbean. Frantz Fanon, Eric Williams, and Aimé Césaire were three notable precursors recognized by Said; and Roberto Fernández Retamar's essays, especially those written in the late 1960s and early 1970s, pursued many similar themes within the rather different context of the Cuban Revolution. Four of those essays are now published in English, along with a more recent reflection on the most famous of them, "Caliban."

This stream of Caribbean historical and cultural analysis was clearly radical in tone and anti-colonial in political tendency. It owed something to Marxism and, especially in the case of Fanon, to psychoanalysis and existentialism. The influence of Said's work has owed much to the skill

with which he has deployed that body of theoretical work usually referred to as post-structuralism. While some, especially in the U.S. academy, have taken writers like Derrida and Foucault back into a deeply introverted philosophical tradition, Said has been concerned to open their work out into a social and political realm, making it "worldly," to use his telling term and, for that reason, at the end of the day valuing Foucault's more engaged writing over and against Derrida's. *Deconstructing America* follows writers like Tzvetan Todorov in using post-structuralist theory to address the "worldly" matter of Europe's "encounter" with America, but the title of Peter Mason's book allies him firmly to the Derridean element in Said's synthesis.

So Retamar and Mason belong in the same field, both analyzing what has become known as the discourse of colonialism, but they might be thought of as occupying different corners (or furrows), one committed to cultural analysis as a weapon of political struggle, the other allied to a new and trenchant form of epistemological scepticism. The contrast between them should be instructive. "Caliban: notes towards a discussion of culture in our America" was first published in Cuba in 1971. It was widely republished, often as a small book, throughout Latin America. An English translation (the same one used here) appeared as early as 1974 in *The Massachusetts Review*. For many people on the left the essay became a touchstone. The Padilla affair had soured the attitude of intellectuals towards Cuba. Some, of course, like Vargas Llosa, would go on to become implacable opponents of the Revolution. Others would welcome in Retamar's work a restatement of the importance of culture to the revolutionary project. In addition, his role as editor of the *Casa de las Américas* seemed to offer some guarantee that Castro's famous phrase "within the revolution, everything" might still have some recognizable meaning.

Twenty years on, "Caliban" is still an impressive essay, though with different strengths from those apparent in 1971. Others, notably Octave Mannoni in Madagascar and George Lamming in Barbados, had already offered rereadings of *The Tempest* from the point of view of Caliban. Retamar's reading of the play may have seemed novel and exciting within the Spanish-speaking world, but much of it was drawn from work existing in English and French. However, in a way, that lack of new scholarship now comes across as the very strength of Retamar's essay. The different linguistic cultures of the Caribbean have so often acted in ignorance of each other, let alone of the continent to their south-west. Retamar's breadth of reading enabled him to bring together a really wide range of material, presenting the figure and symbol of Caliban within a context that was truly pan-Caribbean and, by extension, American.

The abiding weakness of the essay is its dualism. The opposition between Prospero and Caliban sets the terms here, but there is also a tendency to divide living writers into those who support Cuba and those who do not. However, other elements of the essay work counter to this dualism. Retamar's historical perspective allows him to locate Martí as an early avatar of Caliban, insisting on "our mestizo America," on a culture that is precisely a mixture of the indigenous, the European, and the African – which makes it different from all three and valuable in and of itself. Then, towards the end of the essay, Retamar points out that there is indeed a problem in proposing Caliban as "our symbol" since the elaboration of that figure is also alien, the product of European culture. The answer to this comes when he shows how Martí responds to Sarmiento's dualism of civilization versus barbarism by revaluing "barbarism" as a way of demonstrating the falseness of the dualism. The language of the colonizer is not rejected out of hand; the point is "to know how to curse," to turn that language to purposes other than those for which it was first formulated.

It cannot be said that Retamar has been served especially well by this edition. "Caliban revisited" (1986) is a useful situating place but the other three essays, although they demonstrate the range of Retamar's writing and the generosity of his scholarship, appear chosen at random; other essays from the same period as "Caliban" would have made for a more coherent volume. There is not even a bibliography of Retamar's work; and there are far too many mistakes and misprints.

One of the chief differences between Retamar's work and that of Peter Mason is in their styles of writing. Retamar writes within a radical humanist tradition, effortlessly learned, equally at home with poetry as with philology, always seeking a political context (in the large sense of political) into which to situate his reflections. Mason's style is determinedly, anxiously, postmodern. The analysis of discourses of alterity, he argues, demands a "writing *otherwise*," what he calls "a *bricolage* of juxtaposition" (p. 4). The beginning and end of the book are certainly larded with quotations from Levinas and Derrida, but the suggestions of authorial reflexivity are hardly justified either by the quality of the writing or by the extent of the reflexivity in practice. The work of Derrida is marked by a very careful attention to textual complexities: Mason's "deconstruction" offers surprisingly little textual analysis in his own voice and next to nothing that a Derridean would recognize as deconstruction. *Deconstructing America* has a veneer of modishness that conceals a book much more orthodox in approach than it wishes to appear.

The heart of the book consists of a study of the monstrous human races,

sometimes called Herodotean or Plinian after their chroniclers. Four central chapters discuss these races in terms of the relation between their place within the European imaginary and their role in articulating Europe's understanding of the so-called New World. Mason's work here is not especially original but it certainly performs a valuable work of synthesis and popularization.

Two other dimensions of the book are less convincing. One is the attempt to discuss the monstrous races produced in native American mythologies and to compare these with their European counterparts. "Taking native ontologies seriously" (p. 8) is certainly a valuable aim. However Mason is no anthropologist and the material he adduces is not obviously comparable to the western corpus – for one thing most of it was collected in the 1980s. That is not to say that a comparative teratology of this kind would be futile, just to suggest that it needs undertaking with rather more attention to the manifest differences between the circumstances in which the two sets of images were elaborated.

Of special importance for Said was the Foucauldian notion of "discourse" through which knowledge becomes inseparable from power. Mason takes the purist line here: "America" is nothing but "*discourse on 'America'*" (p. 7). This approach has some dividends. Proper attention is paid to linguistic and discursive detail, with what might well be misleading questions about the "distortion of reality" left to one side. The problems come when this analysis is not contextualized within the colonial history which made it possible in the first place. The contrast with Said is again instructive. "Deconstruction," here in Mason's book as elsewhere, tends to act as an alibi, a selfimposed limitation which prevents confrontation with those persistently difficult political questions to which Said and Retamar, in their different ways, attempt to respond.

It would be wrong to leave the impression that these two books are totally opposed on grounds of theoretical approach and political orientation. As I have suggested, *Deconstructing America* is, for better or worse, beneath the surface a much more orthodox piece of scholarship than its self-presentation suggests. Equally, Retamar's essays show a theoretical sophistication much more intricate than an outsider might suspect in such a prominent ideologist of the Cuban Revolution: structuralism and the Prague Circle rub shoulders in *Caliban* with Mariátegui and Guillén. Indeed, though neither Retamar nor Mason might welcome the point, one might argue that Retamar's analysis of the figure of Caliban within the founding dualism of

civilization and barbarism is the finest example of a deconstructive argument in either of these two books, closer in spirit to Derrida than anything in *Deconstructing America*.

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INVISIBLE WOMAN: FEMALE SLAVERY IN THE NEW WORLD

*Slave women in Caribbean society, 1650-1838*, by BARBARA BUSH. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990. xiii + 190 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95, Paper US\$ 12.50) [Published simultaneously by: James Curry, London, & Heinemann Publishers (Caribbean), Kingston.]

*Within the plantation household: Black and White women of the Old South*, by ELIZABETH FOX-GENOVESE. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988. xvii + 544 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95, Paper US\$ 12.95)

*Slave women in the New World: gender stratification in the Caribbean*, by MARIETTA MORRISSEY. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1989. xiv + 202 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

In a letter to his son in 1760, Chesapeake slaveowner Charles Carrol employed a curious euphemism for woman: "fair sex." Obviously, he wasn't thinking of his slaves. An attempt to remedy his negligence by considering this popular definition of eighteenth-century womanhood in relation to the females he forgot reveals this highly restrictive code to be exclusionary as well, for the difficulty of figuring out how brown or black skin can be "fair" suggests that a bondwoman in the New World was not, according to dominant ideology, a woman. Slavery made nonsense of female gender in the case of those whose labor allowed white society its definition. A contemporary observer reveals just how thorough was the distinction between white womanly passivity and whatever unnamed oblivion was left to black females: "The labor of the slave thus becomes the substitute for that of the woman" (Smith 1980:70; Dew 1970 [1832]:36).

Between Carrol's perceptual catastrophe and the end of the last decade,

not much was done to rectify the incomprehensibility of slave womanhood to outsiders. Slavery scholars mostly assumed the male experience of slavery to be paradigmatic of the female, ignoring the difficulties unique to slave women's double oppression (Bush 1990:1; Morrissey 1989:1). That three works should finally breach this silence seems close to miraculous, and they can't have been much easier than miracles to create. Not only do feminist scholars of slavery have few footsteps to follow in, but the endeavor requires theoretical wrangling of the highest order, outfitted with only the most rudimentary conceptual apparatus through which to filter whatever they may find. The results of these early academic forays into female slaves' experience are more successful in leaping the first hurdle than the second. Fox-Genovese, Bush, and Morrissey have provided a wealth of detail we can now use to break down and expand upon our limited capacities for speaking about slavery and gender in the same breath.

*Within the plantation household* is at its most sensitive to the fragility of Eurocentered gender in the presence of class and race in its critique of past over-confidence in the redeeming power of the former. Taking the Southern United States as her focus, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese lambasts the sentimental feminist's wishful thought that slave and white women's common oppression by the father to "his family, white and black" turned them into allies (Genovese 1974:73; Fox-Genovese 1988:43). The only thing black and white women had in common – their mutual accountability to the white master – drove them further apart, she claims, as white women used their institutional superiority over their female slaves to make up for their subservience to their husbands and to reaffirm class distinctions that were being lost in the Jacksonian political realm. Hemmed in by a developing "cult of domesticity" that united womanhood, home, and passivity to deny the significance of the Southern woman's household contribution to a market economy, the plantation mistress became a bitter, bored petty tyrant who directed much of her anger to the slaves with whom she was in intimate daily contact. Fox-Genovese concludes:

Southern women's history should force us to think seriously about the relationship between the experiences that unite women as members of gender and those that divide them as members of specific communities, classes, and races. (p. 39)

Fox-Genovese cannot be accused of romanticizing history. But her impressively sober study houses an unexamined figure at its center: the all-important husband. Her analysis reveals an assumption of male centrality that persists from her object of study to her method, and leaves women at the margins of male culture. She internalizes the patriarchal family order she

describes to the extent that she evaluates women largely in terms of their dealings with men: slave women are said to have "loved their men and children," for instance, while whether they loved each other too is not mentioned (p. 49). More disturbing, she posits a norm of male dominance whose loss in the slave family she laments:

From the perspective of Afro-Americans as a people, should the independence of women be interpreted as collective gain, or merely as confirmation of slave men's weakness relative to white men? ... How do we evaluate a female strength that may have derived less from African traditions than from an enslavement that stripped men of all the normal attributes of male power: legal and social fatherhood, the control of property, the ability to dominate households? (p. 49, emphasis added)

Given that Fox-Genovese considers white women's cruelty the result of their own victimization at the hands of those who retained these signs of "normalcy," i.e. white men, her finding that black men are "weak" by those same standards indicates a more conservative spirit than she might wish to let onto. Nevertheless, she sheds a cold light on the delusion that sisterhood erases class boundaries, and on the suffering this superstition had politely obscured.

If Fox-Genovese dispels unwarranted cheer loitering around United States slavery studies, Barbara Bush, in *Slave women in Caribbean society*, means to celebrate her subject, slave women's contributions to resistance in the West Indies. Their feats range from participation in rebellions and escapes, to more subtle stratagems like poisoning and refusing to work, to the most seemingly innocuous but to Bush crucial one of all, creating a home in which to shelter African-based patterns of behavior and belief. She sees Caribbean slave women as *the* preservers of West African culture in households they maintained as oases of autonomy:

In her private domestic sphere, as a wife and mother, the woman slave was performing the only labour of the slave community, with perhaps the exception of the cultivation of provision grounds, which could not be claimed directly by the master. (p. 98)

It's harder to be convinced by Bush's argument than it is to be inspired. Among the questions that nag is the possibility of preserving something that possibly never existed: a uniform West African culture. In an earlier review in this journal, Richard Price calls attention to a passage from a mid-eighteenth-century German missionary tract, C.G.A. Oldendorp's *History of the mission of the Evangelical Brethren on the Caribbean islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix and St. John*, which suggests the diversity, and perhaps mutual incomprehensibility, of language and status among Africans kidnapped to the West Indies:

Based on the examples cited to this point regarding the manner in which free Negroes [in Africa] have fallen into the condition of slavery, it can be concluded that the West Indian slaves constitute a mixed society, composed of the wealthy as well as the poor and the higher as well as the lower classes, despite the marked change in their outward status that is experienced by all of them. The state of slavery here has accomplished something similar to what is achieved by death in the destinies of all men, namely the removal of all external distinctions among them. (Oldendorp, cited in Price 1987: 178)

Among a few other unexamined assumptions which are drafted into the service of this tribute, including frequent favorable comparison to a "peasantry" which remains vague enough to support Sidney Mintz's observation that "the application of the concept of the peasantry to the Caribbean region has so far been rather limited in character" (Mintz 1983:1-2), only one more sits as close to the ground as the faith in West African cohesiveness – but facing the opposite direction, away from Africa to Christian Europe and its vocabulary of sexual condemnation. Bush has two choices in response to the accusations she hears regarding black female slaves' promiscuity: disprove the accusation, thereby granting it legitimacy, or change the terms of the question to reflect local circumstance rather than imposed definitions of worth. Unfortunately, she chooses option A, insisting that "slave women ... in general, did *not* succumb to promiscuity and immorality" (p. 118), and thereby granting her seal of approval to the view that promiscuity is immoral. It would seem more worthwhile to cast off the imposition altogether, and with it the Eurocentric standards of sexual propriety and racial superiority by which whites cast black sexuality in a negative light in the first place. Like Fox-Genovese, Bush betrays a lingering allegiance to the mores she ostensibly condemns, the former in her lamentation of black male emasculation, the latter in her celebration of black female purity. This does not diminish either's attention to the way slave women participated in resistance to slavery through their everyday domestic lives.

In *Slave women in the New World*, Marietta Morrissey displays the reticence of the materialist, for whom ideas are the excuses we offer ourselves to make sense of situations we can't get out of. Sidestepping Fox-Genovese's and Bush's concern with mood altogether, she considers "without basis" those who "interpret slaves' emotions and political intentions" (p. 15). "Ideological expressions," of which "promiscuity" might be a good example, are to her not cause but a result of social conditions. Since these consist, in the case of the Caribbean, of a "peculiar mix of agrarian and industrial, capitalist and noncapitalist elements" (p. 145) quite unlike those in which a Christian-based notion of immoral promiscuity was nourished, such a concept has no business in her book. Instead,

she searches for analytic categories more conducive to the territory, with the result that she accords slave women a wider range of acceptable behavior and emphasizes their capacity to act within imposed limitations. Morrissey counters Fox-Genovese's lamentation regarding the absence of normal fatherhood in slave families, for instance, by concentrating on the "unique" nature of the "mother-child bond" (p. 14). And she gives brown and black women who formed liaisons with white men less pity and more respect than is customary, noting that women benefitted by alliance with members of the master class, both economically and in freedom from punishment, and that if they sometimes sought white partners this made sense. Gone is any trust in European codes as the last word on New World slavery's family, gender and sexual dynamics, while a sense of the limited meaning of choice in class society remains (p. 148). Morrissey anticipated the kind of scholarship that I hope will develop from what these scholars have already accomplished, in which changes occur in the how, as well as what, of thought.

While Morrissey avoids received categories of race analysis which have led others to conclude "without basis," she does not avoid "political intention" altogether in the case of gender. Like the biologist who adds an extra leg to the male "Y" chromosome to create the female "X", she considers femaleness a marked or positive state, kind of like the 1 on a computer chip, with maleness being neutral or 0. She writes:

Women's position is further removed from global disputes than men's because of their subordinate position within a community of slaves and by gender itself. (p. 7)

The irony here is that even "0" is a marker, which Morrissey must keep in place to secure her construction of the feminine. To varying degrees, each author's quest to define slave womanhood thus implies that we already know who men are, and that we can understand women by the ways they differ therefrom. By making the subject what women did, we end up describing men again.

The above works make an indispensable contribution to the realm of feminist study in which one views women as agents. The female poets and saints who currently make up the subject list of feminist studies can now be joined by female slaves. Morrissey, Bush, and Fox-Genovese help correct women's absence from historical memory; reading their latest publications, one cannot help but be grateful.

Nevertheless, to the extent that they write about "Women" without questioning how they have received or constructed the word their titles share,

they tend to re-enact the discrimination they describe, forming their definitions of female experience on a base of male centrality. These works thus direct us to a realm they don't quite reach, which I propose as feminist and slavery scholars' next field of investigation. In this neighboring arena, the quest is not only to study women, but womanhood, or even more broadly, gender, both on its own and as it intersects with and disturbs our understandings of race, class, and slavery. How do we come to these conceptual tools, and how do they enhance or disturb each other? It may require some sacrifice of certainty to discard assumedly stable bases of meaning that have allowed us to construct women, and slaves, by their conformity to or deviation from monolithic notions such as "West Africa," "peasantry," "men," "family." But uncertainty seems the only accurate depiction of a condition which often made meaning impossible. Black bondwomen were an oxymoron to the white imperialist elite which depended on their labor to maintain its dominance. Paradox, then, rather than borrowed stability, seems the more realistic medium in which to represent our experience of their experience.

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## CARIBBEAN WOMEN: CHANGES IN THE WORKS

*The women of Azua: work and family in the rural Dominican Republic*, by BARBARA FINLAY. New York: Praeger, 1989. xi + 190 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

*The psychosocial development of Puerto Rican women*, edited by CYNTHIA T. GARCÍA COLL & MARIA DE LOURDES MATTEI. New York: Praeger, 1989. xiii + 272 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

*Women and the sexual division of labour in the Caribbean*, edited by KEITH HART. Mona, Jamaica: Consortium Graduate School of Social Sciences, UWI, 1989. 141 pp. (Paper n.p.)

The three books under review work have a common theme: the impact of changing gender expectations on Caribbean women. The authors are mainly concerned with recent political and economic changes that might have contributed to either the improvement or deterioration of women's status in these societies. The questions raised by the contributors are strikingly similar: What has been the impact of dependent economic development on women's lives and has this resulted in increased labor participation (a problem explored for rural Dominican women as well as for Jamaican and Barbadian women) or in the migration to metropolitan centers, with its psychosocial consequences (an issue raised for Puerto Rican women living in the United States)? If patriarchal values (often referred to as traditional values) prevail in these societies, then what impact might wage work, migration, or improved education have on those values? Could it be the disintegration of the nuclear family with an increased proportion of female-headed households (Hart), higher rates of mental illness as a result of dysfunctional accul-

turation (García Coll and Mattei), or even an improvement of women's status within their families and communities (Finlay)?

Each book approaches these questions from a distinctive theoretical and methodological perspective. *The women of Azua* is mainly a sociological study of six rural communities near the Azua province in the Dominican Republic. Although Finlay represents her research as having relied on formal interviews and field observations, the analysis rests heavily on statistical data collected through questionnaires. The richness of the data she collects is often obscured by her insistence on drawing significant correlations between wage work and the improvement of opportunities for both women and their children. Finlay does not question the fact that women in these communities generally appear to have greater control of decisions concerning family matters and greater economic responsibilities for the well-being of their children than has been reported previously for other areas in the Dominican Republic. While she observes that there may have been an exaggeration in the literature on the degree of male domination within the family, she does not try to explain why the behavior of both working and nonworking women (her two comparative samples) often contradicts long held assumptions about women's subordination in the Hispanic-speaking Caribbean. The author does not draw a clear boundary between patriarchal values as they are expressed in the Hispanic-speaking Caribbean and, for example, the English or French-speaking Caribbean. As a result, the prevalence of female-headed households is seen as a phenomenon equivalent to long established kinship and family patterns in the English-speaking Caribbean. Finlay seems to assume that the worldviews and experiences that have historically sustained the development of particular kinship and family patterns in other parts of the Caribbean are applicable to the Dominican Republic. To date, the literature for the region points more to difference than to similarity in family life and gender expectations, particularly between the Hispanic and English-speaking Caribbean (Steward et al. 1956; Mintz 1981; Smith 1988). The puzzling question remains: Are expectations for women's economic responsibilities toward their families in the Azua area the result of recent economic and political developments, or are we witnessing a not-so-recent phenomenon that, while mirroring the experience of women in the English-speaking Caribbean, may be sustained by a different set of values and historical experiences?

This question is particularly important to answer in the context of an argument by Keith Hart, editor of *Women and the sexual division of labour in the Caribbean*, that Caribbean institutions are potentially of wide significance since "they may be the harbinger of forms that will become general elsewhere" (1989:3). Referring principally to the English-speaking Carib-



bean, Hart proposes an evolutionary approach to the study of family forms and the sexual division of labor in the Caribbean and elsewhere. He sees the fluid patterns of relations between men, women, and children, which have been long established in the English-speaking Caribbean, becoming more general in industrial societies: "As the western nuclear family crumbles under the assault of a variety of social forces, it becomes more difficult than it once was to hold that the Caribbean family is a backward failure to achieve the modern nucleated norms celebrated by American sociologists in the 1950s. If anything, the comparison worked better the other way around" (1989:3). It follows that such family forms (which he never describes) are more adaptive to the conflicting demands and pressures of modern society. Hart sees these family forms as evolving from particular social and economic circumstances fostered by the early development of capitalist enterprise in the English-speaking Caribbean. Such developments undermined a strict sexual division of labor and promoted a highly visible role for women in the economic sphere. As a result, early in the history of these societies, women appear to have shared with men the economic responsibility for the well-being of their families. Women's economic roles also had an impact on the crucial role they were playing in decision-making, both within their families and in their communities. This may account for the large number of female-headed households, for the high incidence of children born out of wedlock, and the pattern of serial monogamy observed in some parts of the Caribbean.

Hart's suggestion concerning women's early participation in the labor force, and its possible impact on more egalitarian gender expectations, is partly supported in the work of several contributors to this volume (Lynch, Reddock, Gordon). However, other contributors warn us of what they perceive as women's deteriorating status in these societies (Leo Rhynie, Le Franc). In spite of being trapped in a situation that allows for only minimal social mobility, these women appear to have a larger share of economic responsibilities for their children than in the past. Elsie Le Franc rejects any romantic view of the liberated Caribbean woman to contend that, indeed, the black family is in crisis. Unable, as in the past, to maintain support networks which made women's familial responsibilities less difficult to fulfill, women are faced with an almost impossible task. Drawing on her own research on petty trading in Kingston, Jamaica, she concludes that "traditional" forms of trading, which involved the support of family networks, are now giving way to more individualized enterprises which negatively affect these women. While she does not delve into the reasons for the disappearance of "traditional" forms, she suggests that Caribbean women who are today heads of households are handicapped by their long standing economic

independence from men. Regardless of how unique family forms might be in the English-speaking Caribbean or of how these familial arrangements may have allowed women to attain an independence and assertiveness unknown to their Hispanic counterparts until recently, it is evident from the contributions to this volume that women are suffering the consequences of political and economic decisions made without their participation. This is especially clear in the volume edited by García Coll and Mattei, *The psychosocial development of Puerto Rican women*.

The essays that comprise this latter volume deal principally with the psychological impact that rapid social change has had on Puerto Rican women. Although several contributors address the situation of women (particularly professional women) in Puerto Rico itself (Juliá, Vázquez, et al.), the vast majority of the volume is devoted to psychological research conducted not in Puerto Rico but in the continental United States. Indeed, most of the essays are concerned with the impact of migration on changing gender expectations and the psychological adjustments these women have made to a different cultural environment. While it is expectable that Puerto Rican women face the conflict between "traditional" and "modern" values throughout their lives, this conflict might be especially stressful for women who migrate, among whom there is a higher percentage of single-headed households. At times, however, the theoretical framework relied upon by the contributors (stage theory) tends to obscure the distinctive cultural experiences of the women studied. The underlying assumption of stage theory is that individuals, in order to develop an integrated self, must go through an invariant sequence of psychosocial adjustments (development stages). The problem with this approach is that it does not consider the role culture and history play in the shaping of the self.

Even though women's experiences are at issue, none of the contributors to this volume approach the object of inquiry from a feminist theoretical perspective, such as feminist psychology, whose practitioners have questioned the validity of universal paradigms that do not take into consideration the specificities of the female experience (Gallop 1982). It is also a problem that most of the contributors rely on the control of certain variables to the exclusion of others. As a result, the analyses seldom take into consideration data which may contradict hypotheses formulated by the researchers. Even so, the issue of women and their familial responsibilities emerges as a problematic one. What is striking about the conclusions reached by many of the contributors is the fact that so-called acculturation

processes among Puerto Rican women have less negative psychological consequences when these women rely on support networks (García Coll et al., Comas Días, Mattei). These networks are mainly comprised of Puerto Rican relatives and friends, both in the Island and in the United States, and are of tremendous importance for teenagers who become pregnant and for women who head households.

In spite of the fact that both phenomena may resemble a common pattern for other minorities living in the United States, it is interesting to note that marriage often follows a teenage pregnancy and that women heading households experience ambivalence disciplining their children in the absence of their husbands. Indeed, women who are household heads tend to raise their children according to norms that stress rather "traditional" gender values, and these are often in conflict with their own status as heads of households. This is not the case for women in the English-speaking Caribbean, whose mothering roles are not necessarily linked to marriage and who are less ambivalent about assuming sole responsibilities for their families (Massiah 1982, Powell 1986). It is evident that among Puerto Ricans the single-headed household is associated with distinctive gender expectations.

These three books confront us with the realities Caribbean women must endure. Yet, if we are to make sound theoretical assertions about the so-called "family crisis," in the Caribbean or elsewhere, we must first study the specificities of gender ideologies and practices in these societies. Only then can we fully understand the articulation between political and economic circumstances and the peculiarities of family and kinship forms in the Caribbean.

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## CALLALOO

"Callaloo" follows, in historically correct sequence, its culinary antecedent, "Caribbean pepper-pot" (*NWIG* 58:89-98); it is devoted to books that for one or another reason have fallen through the cracks of the review process. Some represent titles for which the book review editors have found it impossible, despite repeated efforts, to find a consenting reviewer; others lie on the periphery of geographical or topical categories we cover; yet others do not, in our view, merit longer review in this journal. But all, we think, deserve to be brought to the attention of *NWIG* readers. Unlike a Books Received column, Callaloo is retrospective; it is intended to complement the substantial section of the journal devoted to reviews themselves.

First, a plateful of reference works. Daryl Cumber Dance's **Fifty Caribbean writers: a bio-bibliographical critical sourcebook** (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1986, cloth US\$ 69.95) consists of fifty ten-page-long essays, by a wide variety of scholars, each devoted to an Anglophone Caribbean writer; it's a treasure trove. Julio A. Martínez' **Dictionary of twentieth-century Cuban literature** (Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1990, cloth US\$ 75.00), written with six collaborators, introduces Cuban writers of the past eighty years for an English-speaking audience. Doris Monica Brathwaite's **A descriptive and chronological bibliography (1950-1982) of Edward Kamau Brathwaite** (London: New Beacon Books, 1988, cloth £12.50, paper £6.50) carefully chronicles her husband's literary production up till a decade ago. K. Lynn Stoner's **Latinas of the Americas: a source book** (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989, cloth US\$ 87.00), written with numerous collaborators from various disciplines, is a series of bibliographical essays devoted to studies of women, most published between 1977 and 1986; the Hispanophone Caribbean is included. Ingrid Koulen and Gert Oostindie's **The Netherlands Antilles and Aruba: a research guide** (Dordrecht: Foris, 1987,

paper NLG 25.00) is an overview and introduction to current research, with useful suggestions for the future and a lengthy bibliography. Despite the striking painting of the Guadeloupean lizard *Anolis marmoratus* on its jacket, Albert Schwarz and Robert W. Henderson's **Amphibians and reptiles of the West Indies: descriptions, distributions, and natural history** (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991, cloth £53.03) is unillustrated and not intended as a field guide; it will be of interest largely to systematists of herpetofauna.

Next, a bouquet of literary works received for review. Many are recent titles in Heinemann's (paperback) Caribbean Writer Series: Guyanese Beryl Gilroy's **Boy-Sandwich** (1989, £4.25), about hard times in London; Trinidadian Valerie Belgrave's **Ti Marie** (1988, £4.25), a historical romance set in the eighteenth century and billed as "a Caribbean *Gone with the wind*"; the late Harold Sonny Ladoo's powerful account of East Indian rice farmers in Trinidad, **No pain like this body** (1987, £3.50; orig. 1972); an English translation of Guadeloupean-born Myriam Warner-Vieyra's **Juletane** (1987, £3.95), set largely in Senegal; and the late Namba Roy's **No black sparrows** (1989, paper £4.95), his previously unpublished first novel about growing up hardscrabble in 1930s Jamaica. There are also two anthologies from the same Heinemann series: **Her true name: an anthology of women's writing from the Caribbean**, edited by Pamela Mordecai and Betty Wilson (1989, £4.95), and **Caribbean new wave: contemporary short stories** (1990, £4.95), selected by Stewart Brown. Three handsome new CARAF books have come our way from the University of Virginia Press at Charlottesville: **Lone sun**, a translation of Guadeloupean Daniel Maximin's intriguing first novel (1989, cloth US\$ 35.00, paper US\$ 12.95); **The festival of the greasy pole**, a translation of René Depestre's thinly veiled account of Duvalierism (1990, cloth US\$ 25.00, paper US\$ 9.95); and Aimé Césaire's **Lyric and dramatic poetry, 1946-82**, translated by Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith (1990, cloth US\$ 39.95, paper US\$ 14.95) and intended to complement their 1983 edition of the bulk of Césaire's major poetry. Other recent arrivals include a book of short stories by the St. Martin writer Lasana Mwanza Sekou, **Love songs make you cry** (St. Maarten: House of Nehesi, 1989, paper n.p.); Kittitian Caryl Phillips' latest novel, **Higher ground** (New York: Viking Penguin, 1989, cloth US\$ 17.95); and Jamaica Kincaid's mordant and inimitable portrait of her native Antigua, **A small place** (New York: Farrar, Straus, Giroux, 1988, cloth US\$ 13.95). Before leaving the realm of literature, we cite two works of criticism for which reviewers have, alas, been derelict: Keith Q. Warner's informative **Critical perspectives on Léon-Gontran Damas** (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents, 1988, cloth US\$ 25.00, paper US\$ 15.00) and Dolly Zulakha Has-

san's idiosyncratic analysis of West Indian responses to Naipaul's writing, **V.S. Naipaul and the West Indies** (New York: Peter Lang, 1989, cloth US\$ 52.95).

Several travel books have come across our desks. In **Tap-taps to Trinidad: a Caribbean journey** (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1989, cloth £12.95) the black English writer and blues singer Zenga Longmore tours "the islands" without missing a cliché. Insight Guides' **Caribbean: the Lesser Antilles** (Singapore: APA Publications, 1988, n.p.) is a mite more unusual in that it includes a lengthy historical introduction by Gordon K. Lewis and island-by-island descriptions by various well-known journalists; but interspersed with often-spectacular touristic photos, there's no lack of clichés in this one either. Speaking of photographic (as well as verbal) clichés, the latest in another Singapore series, **La Martinique vue du ciel** (Singapore: Times Editions/Sodipresse Antilles, 1990, cloth n.p.), has a text by Françoise Valat and lush color photos by Guido Alberto Rossi (who also photographed Venice and Rome and even Guadeloupe, all "vue du ciel") with total predictability. In contrast, our second photobook is a real gem: Jack Delano's bilingual, black and white **De San Juan a Ponce en tren / From San Juan to Ponce on the train** (San Juan: Editorial de la Universidad de Puerto Rico, 1990, paper n.p.) documents a full-day train trip he took in 1946, with all his trademark starkness, honesty, and evocative magic.

Miscellanea, worthy of mention: **Resistance and rebellion in Suriname: old and new** (Studies in Third World Societies, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg VA, 1990, paper US\$ 25.00), edited by Gary Brana-Shute, constitutes a first-rate, up-to-date introduction to Suriname studies for English speakers. Jean D'Costa and Barbara Lalla's edited volume, **Voices in exile: Jamaican texts of the 18th and 19th centuries** (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989, cloth US\$ 24.50), provides a record of the earliest extant traces of Jamaican speech, and forms a worthy companion to their *Language in exile: three hundred years of Jamaican Creole*, which will be reviewed separately in the next issue of the *NWIG*. A new, revised edition of the **Dictionnaire créole-français (Guadeloupe)**, by Ralph Ludwig and collaborators (Pointe-à-Pitre: SERVEDIT/Editions Jasor, 1990, cloth n.p.) provides a wealth of grammatical as well as lexical information. None of the four politically diverse reviewers we contacted agreed to review Carlos Moore's controversial but heavily documented **Castro, the Blacks, and Africa** (Los Angeles: UCLA Center for Afro-American Studies, 1988, cloth US\$ 43.00, paper US\$ 23.50), despite encomiums on the jacket from the late Alex Haley, Maya Angelou, and the late St. Clair Drake. Clarissa Thérèse Kimber's **Martinique revisited: the changing plant geographies of a West Indian Island** (College Station: Texas A&M

University Press, 1988, cloth US\$ 74.50) presents a sensitive ecological overview of that island since Pre-Columbian times; its understated but carefully-arrived-at conclusions about the effects of changes wrought by recent patterns of human occupation deserve consideration throughout the Caribbean. A related title is no. 10 in the collection "Iles et Archipels": **Iles et tourisme en milieux tropical et subtropical** (Talence: Centre de Recherches sur les Espaces Tropicaux de l'Université de Bordeaux III, 1989, n.p.), which contains various articles on the impact of tourism in the Caribbean, viewed comparatively. Franklin W. Knight and Colin A. Palmer have collected a series of miscellaneous Caribbeana from some leading scholars in **The modern Caribbean** (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989, cloth US\$ 39.95, paper US\$ 12.95). And an even more miscellaneous set of essays has been collected by S.B. Jones-Hendrickson in **Caribbean visions: ten presidential addresses of ten presidents of the Caribbean Studies Association** (Frederiksted VI: Eastern Caribbean Institute, 1990, cloth n.p.), which comes complete with passport-size photos of each president.

Four works cling too tenaciously to the U.S. mainland to fit properly within the *NWIG*'s purview but may nonetheless interest our readers: Joseph E. Holloway's edited **Africanisms in American culture** (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990, cloth US\$ 29.95); Tony Martin's **African fundamentalism: a literary and cultural anthology of Garvey's Harlem Renaissance** (Dover MA: The Majority Press, 1991, paper US\$ 14.95), a plea for greater recognition of Garvey's influence; Blyden Jackson's monumental **A history of Afro-American literature. Volume I: The long beginning, 1746-1895** (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990, cloth US\$ 29.95); and the Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art's imaginative catalogue, **Next generation: southern black aesthetic** (Winston-Salem NC, 1990, paper US\$ 29.95).

Meanwhile, we have received the first issue, dated June 1991, of a truly pan-hemispheric journal – **America negra**, published by the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana (Apartado Aéreo 56710, Bogotá, Colombia); it contains articles on topics ranging from slavery in Cuba and Afro-Guadeloupean cosmology to funeral rites in the Palenque of San Basilio.

Finally, savoring the most succulent for last, there's Guyana-born Rosamund Grant's **Caribbean & African cookery**, with a foreword by Maya Angelou (London: Virago, 1989, paper £6.50). We're sorry to have to report that her callaloo soup deliberately skimps on okra (because, she says, it "gives this dish a tacky texture [and] I prefer a less tacky dish" [p. 16]), but otherwise there's a reasonable array of vegetable, fish, and chicken dishes



(no meat); overall, our own experiments with her recipes rank them several notches down from comparable ones in Elisabeth Lambert Ortiz' venerable *The complete book of Caribbean cooking* (New York: Lippincott, 1973). And there's almost nothing on breadfruit.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

*The web of tradition: uses of allusion in V.S. Naipaul's fiction*, by JOHN THIEME. London: Dangaroo Press/Hansib Publications, 1987. 224 pp. (Paper £ 6.95)

The problem with John Thieme's *The web of tradition*, a severely dated book about the use of allusions in Naipaul's fiction (all but three of the references pre-date 1980), is that it accepts everything Naipaul says about his and other societies as the Gospel's truth. There is no interrogation of Naipaul's interpretation of his society nor, for that matter, of the positions that he takes. The guru speaks and the only function of the critic is to represent those truths in another, more understandable, guise. It is only such a stance that allows a relatively sensible and informed critic of Naipaul's work to argue that

It is a measure of Naipaul's success in overcoming this difficulty [the absence of a West Indian literary tradition] that his meticulously detailed rendition of Trinidad life in a work like *A house for Mr. Biswas* (1961) has given its landscape and society the "quality of myth" about which he speaks. To achieve this, he has had to *create his own tradition*, but this has not meant a spurious originality of the kind for which Paul Theroux has praised him... (p. 11, emphasis added)

and to conclude that Naipaul's allusion to European literature and Hindu culture allows him to repudiate "narrow nationalistic concerns in favor of a broad-based view of culture which ignores traditional divisions and eschews any form of provincialism" (p. 11). As if to suggest that William Shakespeare's allusions are anything but local allusions that later assumed universal proportions.

Then there are the misguided charges that are made against some of the characters of *Miguel Street*. For example, the criticism of B. Wordsworth, one of the characters, seems most misplaced:

As with B. Wordsworth's account of his lost love, the denouement of the story suggests the impossibility of European Romantic love in the calypso society. Paradoxically "Love, Love, Love Alone" is the one story in *Miguel Street* in which the woman is really a victim of the *macho* pose. (p. 26)

Again the problem with this kind of analysis is that one should not expect any kind of "European Romantic love" to occur in any Caribbean country given the region's history, culture, and development of social relations. After all, it was Mary Seacole, a Jamaican woman writing in 1857, who declined the advances of her male admirers and decided to remain single, as she says, not for the want of opportunities. (See *The wonderful adventures of Mrs. Seacole in many lands* [Bristol: Falling Wall Press, 1984].) Nor, for that matter, was bourgeois love the ideal in Caribbean societies; women and men picked their partners as they chose until they were forced into marriage by the legal coercion of a European-based system. In fact, Merle Hodge's observation about family patterns in the Caribbean is of enormous importance. She says:

We live, very comfortably, in certain arrangements that perform all the functions of family – the socialization of the young, the provision of the material and emotional needs of all family members, the regulation of sexuality. Again, these arrangements do not fit the story book prescription: in our family systems the head of the family can be female or male; legal marriage is not mandatory; the family spills beyond one household to include cousins, aunts and uncles, grandparents, and even godparents as functional members of the family.

These arrangements have survived for generations, despite official disrespect and attempts to force us into the storybook family mold. And again there is ambivalence, a contradiction between our daily experience and the norms to which we subscribe, for we firmly believe that a "real" family consists of husband, wife, and children, with husband as head, and any variation of this model is an anomaly – even if it is an anomaly which we live. (Hodge 1990:204-5)

In light of the above, it seems incorrect to talk about "European Romantic love" in our "calypso society." It does not occur (as it shouldn't occur) and thus it says very little about Caribbean or African societies for that matter. Love, as all other human activities, is a product of a society's history, culture, and social development and that is how it has always been. As for Naipaul's creation of a West Indian literary tradition, Derek Walcott's response to *Enigma of arrival* seems entirely appropriate:

The myth of Naipaul as a phenomenon, as a singular, contradictory genius who survived the cane fields and the bush at great cost, has long been a farce. It is a myth he chooses to encourage – though he alone knows why, since the existence of other writers in no way diminishes his gift... There is something alarmingly venal in all this dislocation and despair. Besides, it is not true. There is, instead, another truth. Naipaul's prejudice.

Frankness doesn't absolve him of it. Of course prejudice comes from history, from the hoarded genealogy of the tribe; yet if Naipaul's attitude toward Negroes, with nasty little sneers... was turned on Jews, for example, how many people would praise him for his frankness? Who would have exalted that "honesty" for which he is praised as our only incorruptible writer from the Third World? (Walcott 1987:30)

It is the kinds of claims that are made for or against Naipaul's work that usually signal the strength and/or weaknesses of studies on Naipaul. It never seems any good to simply depict Naipaul as arising out of his own social milieu (Trinidad) and then reaching out further to speak about larger concerns. It can never be that *A house for Mr. Biswas*, for example, is a classic work because it universalizes particular local (Trinidad/colonial) concerns that have become important in the larger social context. It must always be that Naipaul has been "absorbed into the English literary tradition" and that his style "has all the assurance of the great non-English masters of modern English prose – James, Conrad, and Joyce" even though Thieme admits that, like Conrad, James and Joyce, Naipaul also "writes English with an 'unrest of spirit'" (pp. 32-33). No analysis of Naipaul can be attempted that sees Naipaul as a postcolonial writer whose fiction can best be located in the "Englishes" of the Anglophone world and postcolonial discourse.

In spite of these shortcomings, Thieme must be credited with recognizing the role that Hinduism played in Naipaul's work. Although he does not always follow through with this insight, he is most perceptive when he applies it to a work such as *A house for Mr. Biswas* and argues that Mr. Biswas "remains a product of his Hindu world into which he was born" and that Mr. Biswas's quest "for self-realization takes the form of his attempt to emancipate himself from the old Hindu world of the Tulsis" (p. 90). He is at his most confused when he argues that *A bend in the river* is "another passionate and brilliantly executed account of Naipaul's sense of loss and trauma" (p. 190).

Thieme's study is also insightful in its recognition of the calypso motif in *Miguel Street* and in its attempt to unearth the sources of *A house for Mr. Biswas* in his father's (Seepersad Naipaul's) work. His demonstration of the similarities between Naipaul's latter novels (those after *Miguel Street*) and those of Joseph Conrad is also useful, as are the connections he makes between *Guerrillas* and Emile Bronte's *Wuthering heights*, and Charlotte Bronte's *Jane Eyre* and Thomas Hardy's *The Woodlanders*. However, while he recognizes Jane's predicament (her sense of being adrift in the Third World), he is unable to see the brutal manner in which Jane and other white women are violated in *Guerrillas* and *A bend in the river*. As I have noted elsewhere,

Sexuality... cannot be seen as a pre-given fact but as the manner in which human subjects have been constructed by their histories... [A]nd this is why the manner in which Naipaul depicts women, particularly in his later texts, raises so many important questions about his own sexuality and the question of power in postcolonial societies. (Cudjoe 1988:174).

And this is why, even though Thieme's study identifies many of the allusions that Naipaul draws upon, such a postulate is not enough to support a sustained and thorough reading of Naipaul's texts. They work best in Naipaul's early novels (for example, *Miguel Street* and *A house for Mr. Biswas*). When he gets to *The mimic men* and beyond things seem to fall apart and lead to a kind of repetition. It leaves one with the feeling that we heard all of it before. More particularly, too little attention is given to challenging Naipaul's many controversial and questionable positions. To cite but two examples: On the face of it, Naipaul's position that "colonialism is primarily a psychological condition, characterized by the lack of a sense of being able to change one's condition in life" (p. 41) seems to be a questionable proposition, but Thieme leaves it alone. Second, there are times when Thieme seems to support Naipaul's racist assumptions. This becomes particularly grotesque when, in support of Naipaul's position in "One Out of Many," Thieme argues:

It is this belief, that sexual contact with black women results in a more lowly *karma* in one's next incarnation, which lies at the heart of Santosh's fear of the black maid who works in a neighbouring apartment. Consequently when he sleeps with her he feels dishonoured and, in a significant allusion to Hindu mythology, likens her to 'Kali, goddess of death and destruction, coal-black, with a red tongue and white eyeballs and many powerful arms'. In *India: a wounded civilization* Naipaul refers to Kali as "'the black one," the coal-black aboriginal goddess, surviving in Hinduism as the emblem of female destructiveness, garlanded with female skulls, tongue forever out for fresh blood, eternally sacrificed to but insatiable', a reference which helps to pin-point the effect of Santosh's Kali allusion: for him consorting with the *hubshi* [black woman] means a kind of spiritual death. Subsequent marriage to her, while it enables him to escape from the situation of being an illegal immigrant in which he has placed himself by leaving his employer, sentences him to a life of exile from his Hindu roots. (p. 153)

Such analysis is offered without any comment and all is reduced to the magic of allusion. The critic arrives at no conclusion and makes no comments about the manner in which Naipaul depicts black people; nor, for that matter, does he question the implication of the text that to cohabit with a black woman is to be equated with "spiritual death." Does the critic have any comment to make at all about Naipaul's racist assumptions? To this critic, it is of little importance whence the allusion comes. It simply confirms the kinds of racist slights that Naipaul has been allowed to get away with and

which, all too often, are achieved/supported via the agreeable nods of the non-critical critic.

A critic has the obligation to go beyond the mere citation of allusions and the attempt to match allusions with certain passages in various texts. A critic has the obligation to examine the implications of those allusions and suggest what they say about the textual material under review. After all, the critic does not/cannot replace the novelist, but rather functions to offer his/her reader a new knowledge whereby the unsaid (or the unconscious, if you like) of the text is made more available to the reader. If critics do not do this it seems to me that they fail to carry out one of the very important responsibilities of their craft. The critic cannot be content with merely outlining allusions. Because fiction works at so many levels of understanding and there are so many permutations of meaning in any one work, to argue blithely that anything goes because they are allusions is not good enough. Such treatment simply adds to the illusion of profundity and disinterest when so many assumptions about race, gender, and class are at stake. To be sure, language by its nature is meaningful. But, as Roger Webster notes, "what is in contention [in the reading of literary texts] is the meanings which are legitimated – those which come to be accepted and those which are excluded" (Webster 1990:104).

Merle Hodge seems to have come closer to the truth when she argued that "Caribbean fiction can help to strengthen our self-image, our resistance to foreign domination, our sense of oneness of the Caribbean and our willingness to put our energies into the building of the Caribbean nation" (1990:203). The function of critic, metropolitan or otherwise, is to subject any fiction to a rigorous kind of examination for its truth-content. Thieme, I'm afraid, did not see fit to interrogate Naipaul's allusions as rigorously as he might and it is in this important context that I think the book has failed. Had he integrated the skepticism of his all too brief conclusion into the body of his study his book would have been much more illuminating. Published separately as essays as they were originally, they are of some importance and value. As a sustained, coherent, narrative about Naipaul's work, *The web of tradition* does not work. It requires a much more sustained interrogation of Naipaul's position.

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*The poet's Africa: Africanness in the poetry of Nicolás Guillén and Aimé Césaire*, by JOSAPHAT B. KUBAYANDA. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1990. xiv + 176 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

A full-scale comparative or cross-cultural study of the Cuban poet Nicolás Guillén, who came to prominence in the Afro-Cuban movement of the 1930s, and the Martinican Aimé Césaire, who coined the term *Négritude* and was the principal theoretician and practitioner of negritude poetry from World War II until 1961 or thereabouts, has been needed for some time. The reader of Josaphat Kubayanda's compilation of articles and essays may well conclude that such a book has yet to be written. Sections of chapters 3, 5, and 6 of *The poet's Africa*... were published in earlier drafts from 1982 through 1985, according to the author's preface, and much of the most significant research on the negritude movement, and on Guillén, has not found its way into this book, which appears to have been in press rather a long time.

*The poet's Africa*... posits two axiomatic notions that together constitute its thesis: "the notion of the cultural unity and relevance of Africa and the African diaspora" and "the view that new 'methods', anchored in the unity of the African cultural world, might be developed to read and interpret the texts and realities of the black regions of the world" (p. xii). Thus, the Caribbean is taken here to be but one of "the black regions of the world," which collectively can be expected to manifest an underlying "cultural unity." Some serious manipulation of the poetic corpus has been necessary to bring Guillén and Césaire into line with this thesis. All of Guillén's post-revolutionary poetry has been excluded on the ostensible grounds that he was no longer a "black" poet after 1961: "From 1961 ... race and roots were no longer his primary preoccupations" (p. 2). Guillén's attention to the culture of *mestizaje* or creolization, during the revolutionary period, is considered

by the author to be tantamount "to reasserting the primacy of the Metropolitan discourse" (p. 2). In short, Guillén is given only two choices: he could be a) Afrocentric (good) or b) Eurocentric (bad). Until 1961 Guillén was a "good" poet; after that date he became a retrograde, "bad" poet in terms of the ideological overdetermination that motivates this study.

The criteria used to limit the corpus of Césaire's poetry are even more questionable. Although Césaire published no new individual collections from 1961 until 1982, the seventeen *Noria* poems included in his *oeuvres complètes* (vol. 1. *poésie*) in 1976 should have solicited the critic's attention. More serious still as a challenge to the underlying thesis of *The poet's Africa...* is the clear questioning of his own earlier negritude stance in Césaire's collection *moi, laminaire...*, published in 1982 (and in a bilingual French-English edition by CARAF University Press of Virginia, 1990, under the title *Lyric and dramatic poetry 1946-82*). At issue is the epistemological status of the Africanness of Césaire's negritude poetry, as he himself came belatedly to recognize. "Africanness" is, or ought to have been, the principal subject of investigation of *The poet's Africa...*, according to its subtitle; but every effort has been made at the outset to exclude from consideration the messy data that would have obliged the author to recognize that the "Africanness" of negritude is an ideological construct, dependent on cultural, economic, and political conditions prevailing in a specific place and time.

The overall strategy of *The poet's Africa...* is to sweep aside the most important research of a comparative sort done on both sides of the Atlantic since the late 1970s in order to reaffirm the naive ethnographic thesis of a unified African world view propounded by the German essayist Janheinz Jahn in his popular study *Muntu: an outline of the new African culture* (1961) and reasserted lately by Molefi Kete Asante in *The Afrocentric idea* (1987). *The poet's Africa...* cites several Ph.D. dissertations of marginal interest completed in the United States but neglects completely three French state doctoral dissertations completed between 1978 and 1982 that, taken together, demolished the notion that "Négritude" was ever a unified poetics or ideology in Africa and the Caribbean. They are: Michel Hausser, *Essai sur la poétique de la négritude* (Paris VII, 1978), published by the Service de la Reproduction des Thèses of the Université de Lille III in 1982; Martin Steins, *Les antécédents et la genèse de la négritude senghorienne* (Paris III, 1981), available in North America through the Center for Research Libraries; and Joseph Costisella, *Genèse et évolution de la négritude* (Paris IV, 1982), which made good use of Steins's work.

The reader of *The poet's Africa...* could search the index in vain for the name of Edouard Glissant, who in 1981 published *Le discours antillais* (En-



glish-language edition, CARAF Books, University Press of Virginia, 1989). This is presumably no accident, for Caribbean discourse cannot, in his view, be tied to blackness nor can the Caribbean be adequately described as one of "the black regions of the world." It is one of the regions of the world in which the process of the creolization of cultures is most advanced, in which our multiple ethnic heritage is slowly and with difficulty, in a state of creative friction, being recognized and celebrated. Neither is Wilson Harris mentioned, no doubt for the same reason. Roberto Fernández Retamar is mentioned once for his rejection of Eurocentric historiography; but his essays on the necessity of going beyond the ideology of blackness (negritude) to creolization (*mestizaje*) are not.

One would like to be able to point out instances of useful, sometimes sensitive individual readings of poems in *The poet's Africa...*; they exist and the reader is invited to find and appreciate them. Unfortunately they exist within an ideological construct that is so thoroughly slanted to favor the author's thesis that the meaning the poems are alleged to convey must constantly be questioned and challenged.

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*Shipwreck and adventures of Monsieur Pierre Viaud*, edited and translated by ROBIN F.A. FABEL. Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1990. viii + 141 pp. (Cloth US\$ 16.95)

One of the best introductions to the adventure-fantasy story is still Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's eminently readable *The lost world*. The reader is regaled with a combination of genuine Amazonian ethnographic information (the name and description of Curupuri, the spirit of the woods), European stereotypes of the peoples of South America (homicidal Indians and treacherous half-bloods), and pure invention (the prehistoric fauna which still inhabit a plateau in the Amazon at the end of the nineteenth century!), all thrown together in a world where deep shadows contain yet deeper shadows of black inchoate forms...

Doyle is explicit about his aims in writing *The lost world*: "to give one hour of joy to the boy who's half a man, or the man who's half a boy." This was more or less the aim of many of the works of this genre collected in the thirty-nine volumes of *Voyages imaginaires, songes, visions et romans ca-*

*balistiques*, which C.G.T. Garnier edited in 1787 (at the same time that D.A.F. de Sade was completing his very special variation on the genre, *Aline et Valcour*). Though no doubt intended to provide a good many hours' joy to its readers as well, Sade's work was explicitly presented as a *roman philosophique*, and many of the stories of this genre likewise made use of the theme of finding oneself in completely new surroundings as a vehicle for disquisitions on human morality and the dents it could receive in dire straits.

The work now published in English (though not for the first time) as *Shipwreck and adventures of Monsieur Pierre Viaud* is a work of this kind. Shipwrecked on an island off the coast of Florida in 1767, the hero/martyr/witness finds himself in an almost hopeless situation. A number of the *topoi* of the genre recur: the treacherous Indian; the valiant speeches and behavior of men in extreme circumstances (the Dutch sailor who drowns while trying to swim ashore, or, more pathetically, the young Frenchman who commits the *beau geste* of urging the others to leave him to his fate if they are to save their own skins); and the fantastic creatures of the night. The climax of this European escapism is singled out by its representation in an engraving to the work: the murder and subsequent consumption of his (nameless!) black slave by Viaud and his French (bed) companion, the lately widowed Madame La Couture (whose petticoat tied to a pole is the makeshift flag which eventually attracts the rescue party).

Turning a blind eye to this literary background, the editor and translator has detached this particular work from Volume 12 of Garnier's vast anthology and presented it as a record of genuine events. Chance discoveries in various archives enabled him to delve into material on the characters of Viaud's narrative. Basing his argument on this prosopographical material, he then takes the step of assuming that it supports the veracity of the account as a whole, viewing the patent inconsistencies and implausibilities as "novelistic flesh applied to factual bones" (p. 22), and blaming them on Dubois-Fontanelle, a prolific French novelist who is supposed to have collaborated with Viaud.

Good travel narratives can stand by themselves. But they can certainly be enriched by a commentary, as the excellent recent editions of sixteenth-century travel accounts edited by Frank Lestringant and Janet Whatley show (Lestringant 1983, 1984; Whatley 1990). Second-rate narratives cannot make it on their own; they require a good, comprehensive commentary if we are to spend our time on them at all. Neither Viaud's narrative nor Fabel's introduction and notes meet this requirement. Despite his sneers at Elizabeth Griffith's 1771 translation, his own notes, mainly dealing with topographical affairs or various fauna of the Florida coast, are hopelessly

incomprehensive. In stressing the work's relevance for the local and natural history of Florida, Fabel presents it in a packaging that deprives it of any interest for the scholarly community at large.

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*Urbanization, planning and development in the Caribbean*, edited by ROBERT B. POTTER. London: Mansell Publishing, 1989. vi + 327 pp. (Cloth £ 35.00)

*Urbanization, planning and development in the Caribbean* adds significantly to the woefully inadequate literature on urbanization in the Caribbean. Specifically, this edited volume aims "to provide a comprehensive overview of both historical and contemporary facets of urbanization, economic change and planning in the Caribbean region taken as a whole" (p. 1). As such, the authors remind us that urban form is both a product of the political economy of an area and a representation of the historical development of a particular place. By emphasizing the relationship between the major economic decisions made by the state over time and the urban form that has resulted, they make a powerful argument for the need for planning (economic, physical, and social), but also give us the reasons why public sector planning in most of the Caribbean has been so feeble.

The importance of this study is underscored by the fact that the Caribbean is the most urbanized part of the world. Such high levels of urbanization and urban primacy have resulted in major social and spatial inequal-

ities. Thus a theme of the book is "that policies which affect urban development are inextricably bound up with overall strategies of economic development and thus by extension to societal and political goals in general" (p. 13). Yet we see in the Caribbean, as is true throughout most of the Third World, that urban planning is still regarded as a minor government function. The findings of this volume should be helpful to those who seek to influence government policy, as well as those who seek a greater understanding of urban dynamics.

The editor has done an excellent job of providing a framework of major issues to be covered in each country chapter and the authors have all generally followed the prescribed format. Thus the book maintains an internal coherence which enhances the comparative nature of the work. All of the chapters are well-written and add to our understanding of urbanization in the Caribbean. However, it quickly becomes apparent that a greater wealth of information on urban development exists for some countries, and that some authors had a greater understanding of the relationships between urban dynamics and social and economic development in the countries studied. Some chapters, therefore, have been masterfully handled and present clear evidence of the economic base of urban development.

Two excellent chapters are the ones on Jamaica and Cuba. Colin Clarke suggests that the response to Jamaica's dependent urbanization (an outgrowth of dependent capitalism) has been largely a "do-it-yourself urbanization," in which the informal sector in employment and makeshift housing predominate. Urban planning has been subordinate to economic planning, largely reactive and patronage-driven. Derek Hall discusses how post-revolutionary policies in Cuba have been used explicitly to change the spatial configuration of the country in order to complement overall ideals of social and economic equality and growth. Thus the Cuban government has been pro-active in integrating economic and spatial planning, and in so doing has generated greater equality among income groups, services, and regions.

Other authors remind us that the small size of many of these countries, and thus the close interaction between urban and rural zones, has allowed strong socio-spatial polarization to continue to an extent not consistent with social welfare; that suburban development, especially among the more affluent, is a growing trend; and that tourism development has aggravated social and spatial inequalities. However, growing reliance on tourism has also spawned a greater interest in historic preservation and environmental conservation. Robert Potter is to be commended for having pulled together

a volume that gives us a greater appreciation of the role of the state in creating the urban ambience of the region.

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*Kinship and class in the West Indies: a genealogical study of Jamaica and Guyana*, by RAYMOND T. SMITH. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988. xiv + 205 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.50)

From the late 1940s to the early 1970s, Caribbean kinship and family life received much anthropological and sociological treatment. The few studies published during the last few years hardly match the breadth and depth of those produced during the heyday of Caribbean family research. The recent shift to other topics (migration, speech performance, drug use, urban life, and so on) suggests that the main substantive areas and theoretical disputes of the past have been adequately dealt with. Not according to pioneer Caribbean kinship authority, Raymond T. Smith, who argues that there is much that is not known or has been misunderstood about the formation, structure, content, and folk ideas about West Indian kinship and family life.

This book is the first of a projected three-volume study of West Indian kinship. Its nine chapters present the results of genealogical research using "the extended case study based on multiple interviews" (p. 10) conducted by Smith and eight other field workers in Jamaica and Guyana between 1967 and 1972. Except for the historical data in Chapter 8, which should have been merged with Chapter 5 to produce a more coherent argument and eliminate later repetition, the material is logically presented and the writing clear and concise. The first three chapters and the last deal with concepts, assumptions, method and theory, with a sprinkling of ethnography here and there; most of Chapter 4 concerns the quantitative features of the genealogies that were collected; Chapter 5 discusses the history of Caribbean marriage as an institution; Chapter 6 describes the organization of and ideas about contemporary marriage and other unions; Chapter 7 deals with adult sex role differentiation within conjugal unions; and Chapter 8 concerns the historical development and contemporary organization of the Caribbean family and household.

The core of the study is the description and analysis of 51 genealogies collected from lower- and middle-class rural and urban informants of both

sexes and supposedly representing the "whole racial spectrum." This is supplemented by historical and ethnographic material in an attempt to "question certain orthodox assumptions about class differences in West Indian kinship" (p. ix) and "to recognize the coexistent opposition between open and changing social processes and the relative stability of the cultural conceptions through which those processes are mediated and, to a considerable extent, constituted" (p. 2). Over the years, several competing theories of Caribbean family life have attributed its features to either the persistence or reinterpretation of West African kinship systems, the effects of slavery, cultural pluralism, poverty, class stratification, wage-labor migration, or community organization. Smith joins the "social processes" in the historical domains of slave and post-slave society with contemporary class stratification to explain what he argues is the stability and structural and cultural inter-class commonality of the West Indian kinship system. He is particularly interested in the shared cultural conceptions, the folk or emic ideas embedded in informant statements, which are the manifestations of these processes and which "span income and status differences, and ... can be understood as variations on a common structural theme."

The book contains little original or substantial empirical, cultural, or theoretical material about the lower class. Much of the historical data and middle class ethnography has also been published elsewhere. Moreover, to argue that "[m]ost of these [extant sociological and anthropological] theories assume that the lower classes [in the Caribbean] have 'deviant' families" (p. 4) was only partially true 30 years ago and no longer represents what Smith calls "the accepted wisdom about West Indian kinship" (p. 48).

Smith's mode of analysis is a response to the "unthinking enumeration" (p. 30) of the past in which "the collection of [household] census and survey data in standardized form" (p. 80) bearing questionable or tenuous relation to "native categories" (pp. 8-10) was used to determine the features of conjugal, domestic, and family life. This critique seems misdirected; only a few researchers in the early 1960s tried to derive kinship principles *solely* from the interpretation of static household census data. It is also an exaggeration to argue that "little attempt has been made to pay close attention to the ideas, the concepts, of the people being studied - even at the rudimentary level required for creating a cultural account" (p. 28). Smith's warnings that trying to infer folk ideas from the analytical categories imposed by the researcher is dangerous (p. 9) and that "the aim is to establish a mode of analysis and to explore the extent to which quantitative data can be made more meaningful by a detailed study of informants' - rather than observers' - categories" (p. 18) are curious given his own departure from "native categories" in constructing and interpreting the kindred data at the heart of his

study, which includes such categories of people as affines of consanguines – categories hardly part of the culturally recognized, socially effective, or emotionally affective kinship universe of informants. Together with the high rates of conjugal shifting and multiple unions in the two societies, this makes it easy for him to claim that “there is no clear boundary between ‘races’ and ‘classes’” (p. 39).

Smith argues that informants “were selected to represent a sufficient range of social types, at least wide enough to draw some conclusions about race and class differences” (p. 11). But the evidence hardly supports this, since informants from various parts of the class hierarchy, physical landscape, and racial spectrum are grossly unrepresented or missing. Only one rural lower class Black Guyanese was interviewed. “No very wealthy families were included in this research” (p. 94), and “Our ‘lower-class’ informants are not among the poorest of West Indians” (p. 114). With both ends of the hierarchy and the most important part of the Indo-Guyanese population missing, and with no discussion of rural lower-class domestic group life in Chapter 8, it is small wonder again that Smith “discovered” as much inter-class homogeneity as he did.

At several points Smith correctly notes that the main features of Caribbean family life are well known: “the prevalence of high illegitimacy rates, relatively unstable unions, and complex domestic relations in which women play a prominent role” (p. 8). What he is less willing to acknowledge is that it is also well known that though these and related features are also sometimes found among the middle-classes and all ethnic groups, they are statistically and socially modal and normative only among poor or lower-class Afro-West Indians where they are characteristic of both sexes and of varying types of domestic arrangement. It is a major failing of the book that inter-class and inter-ethnic group kinship differences are obscured, ignored, or argued away in the interest of an overly simplified model of inter-class homogeneity.

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*Alabi's world*, by RICHARD PRICE. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990. xx + 445 pp. (Cloth US\$ 59.00, Paper US\$ 18.95)

If a principal canon of anthropological history be the recovery and elucidation of different cultural logics expressed in encounters from the past, through sensitive ethnographic and historical contextualization, then Richard Price is arguably the best anthropological historian at work today. Superlatives ought not be used lightly, but *Alabi's world*, considered as an experimental sequel to the audacious *First-Time: the historical vision of an Afro-American people* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), forces them. Together, these two books constitute a formidable work.

Alabi, the subject of *Alabi's world*, was born in the early 1740s. The son of Abini and Akoomi, enslaved Saramakas whose parents or grandparents had been transported from Africa to Suriname where they labored and suffered on plantations before escaping into the interior, Alabi was a key participant in numerous eighteenth-century events in this Dutch colony involving Saramakas, German Moravian missionaries, and Dutch planters and colonial authorities. By focusing on Alabi, Price provides an intimate, compelling history of Saramakas and those with whom they came into contact in the New World, over a 100-year period.

Alabi was a child of what Saramakas call "First-Time," the period when they fled slavery on coastal and riverside plantations to forge maroon society and create culture in inaccessible upriver communities. Conditions of slavery during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were truly vicious. The Saramakas were treated horrifically by indescribably cruel masters, and it is little wonder that many preferred the risk of torture or death – the inevitable fate of captured slaves – over continued detention. Nevertheless, many did escape to gain and then fight for, in a series of wars, a precarious freedom.

In the mid-eighteenth century, Moravians appeared on the scene, encouraged by the colonial government, and began to proselytize among the Saramakas. The Christocentric Brethren, for whom Christ's wounds – in particular the "bleeding lovely Side" or "dearest Side hole" (pp. 57-58) – were a special focus and the suffering of Christ a central image, left their own remarkable texts, which Price uses effectively. The Moravians expected, even desired, personal suffering and death, and Suriname did not disappoint them. They suffered poignantly and terribly from malarial and other fevers and diseases, and they died in numbers.

They also failed, for the most part, to convert the Saramakas; most of their successes were at best syncretists unconvinced that Moravians possessed a single Truth. An exception was Alabi, who became a cultural



mediator, a leader of his people in the eyes both of whitemen, who appointed him to a position of spokesman, and of many Saramakas themselves. Like many in similar positions in numerous colonial settings, Alabi was a bundle of contradictions and ambiguities. His multiple positions on religious and secular matters cannot be readily summarized; Alabi resists reduction to stereotype or caricature. Price's triumph is in revealing, despite the passage of time, these complexities.

In *First-Time*, Price presented Saramaka versions of historical events in one typeface and his exegesis in another. The (translations of) Saramaka texts were in boldface and generally at the tops of pages; Price's commentary followed in roman. While he is not as radically innovative in *Alabi's world*, Price nevertheless continues with his interest in distinguishing visually, in typeface, the voices of the encounter: Moravian missionaries in boldface, Dutch colonial officials in italic boldface, and Saramakas in italic with ragged margins to indicate orality. Price's own comments are again in roman typeface.

In his methodology, Price has combined in exemplary fashion for an anthropological historian the use of oral and ethnographic data with archival documents and a range of published materials. With his chronological narrative, extensive notes, and lack of in-text parenthetical references, Price seems more historian than anthropologist. Endnotes fill over 150 pages – over one-third of the total length of this book – and provide both additional texts produced by the Saramaka, Moravian, and planter voices as well as precise documentary references for each chapter's sources and extensive commentary. Thankfully, Price is concerned on one level with matters of style and is able to keep much of the referencing apparatus from intervening with reading his at-times uplifting, at-times horrifying, but always elegant text. As for the linearity of his chronological presentation, however, Price reveals that even on this issue, Saramaka culture is a paramount concern: for the Saramakas themselves, history is linear and so "chronology seemed an appropriate dimension with which to vertebrate the narrative, permitting me to avoid the imposition of some other arbitrary analytic order" (xviii).

Two of the more controversial aspects of Price's reading of the past concern an at-times tenuous link between a particular passage and historical "fact"; and an occasional tendency to read the present into the past. Neither should detract ultimately from the value of *Alabi's world*. In fact, each in its way sharpens one's sense that Price's historical vision is remarkably keen. As for the first issue, Price himself admits that the absence of footnotes for the date of one particular event and the names of specific individuals involved left "a distinguished historian of slavery ... incredulous" (p. 285).

Here and elsewhere, Price explains, he undertakes "educated reconstructions" and signals them clearly. By admitting this, Price disarms potential critics. Even if he had not, he has not exercised a more radical "historical imagination" than many other historians and has done so far more convincingly than many; all but the most unabashed positivists will be satisfied. As for presentism – the second issue – it is less easily dispensed with. Price often expands a particular reading of the past by projecting to it an interpretation based on his own understanding of contemporary Saramaka culture and behavior. Nevertheless, even here, Price admits to the dangers and never naively pretends that the present can be pushed willy-nilly into the past without complications.

This is a remarkable book, justice to which cannot be done in the space of a short review. It deserves a large audience. It will gain an immediate following among all whose interests lie in Afro-American culture and history; but it should also be read widely by those who wish to incorporate in their texts and interpret the multiplicity of voices in colonial encounters.

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*Africa's Ogun: Old World and New*, edited by SANDRA T. BARNES.  
Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989. xi + 274 pp.  
(Cloth US\$ 45.00, paper US\$ 19.95)

Sandra T. Barnes' excellent anthology of ten essays on Ogun, the West African God of hunting, iron, and warfare, is useful on two levels. The collection, which includes noted Africanists and Caribbeanists, offers readers a superb analysis of the historical development of Ogun and a sophisticated framework for comprehending the transition of belief systems from Africa to the New World.

Barnes' introductory essay sets the tone ably. She reviews the birth of Ogun, nearly two thousand years ago, as a god of iron. She describes Ogun as a *bricoleur* idiom (p. 7) in which mobile followers foster exchange of information and merge old and new traits of the deity. She argues that Ogun exists in polycultural areas as an inclusive rather than exclusive deity. Ogun, as a plastic and transient deity, persists through the power of custom and in redundant social patterns such as rituals, metaphors, and symbols.

These points are particularly important for understanding Ogun as a *root metaphor* (p. 20) for African retentions within Christian theology.

Following Barnes' introductory comments are nine essays, equipped with notes and bibliography, which further expand knowledge of Ogun. A number of the essays contain powerful photography. Robert G. Armstrong discusses the etymology of the word "Ogun." He emphasizes the male hunter aspects of Ogun and finds cross-fertilization within West African poetry. A third essay by Barnes and Paula Girshick Ben-Amos concentrates on Ogun as symbol of empire building. Barnes and Ben-Amos contend that military states created Ogun as a complex of iron, warfare, and state-building. Markets were of great importance in this commerce of weaponry and Ogun metaphors.

The transition to the New World is the focus of Karen McCarthy Brown's essay. In her discussion, Ogun transfers from Dahomey to Haiti through cultural niches which permit African survivals subject to systematic and continuous redefinition and restrictions (p. 66). African religious heritages such as Ogun blend into New World needs. Ogun in Haiti mediates the role of power.

Similarly, Renato Ortiz finds a marriage of Ogun with Brazilian Indian beliefs in the fifth essay. Ortiz creates a fascinating comparison of Ogun beliefs in the intellectual hierarchy of the Umbandista religion and its presence in *Candomble*, a subcultural religion emphatic about Africanity. In *Candomble*, Ogun retains all African characteristics, and remains a black deity, however syncretic the parallel structure may be. Ogun thus remains very clear in *Candomble*. Within the Umbandista national context Ogun *orixás* become a synthetic part of the spiritual world. Ogun controls the Kingdom of Darkness, a sector of religion rather than the whole of *Candomble*.

Part Two begins with John Pemberton's essay on Ogun community-wide festivals among the Yoruba. Using photographs and a journal of daily festivities, Pemberton shows how Ogun celebrations solve political controversies through ritual. Nonhuman power resolves human conflict (p. 138). Such political usage of Ogun culture is present in the sixth essay, in Adeboye Babalola's portrait of Ogun reflections in Yoruba Ijala chants. Babalola poetically charts Ogun as a metaphor for condensing broad ranges of human experience. Bade Ajuwon's essay gives another account of performance. Using oral traditions, Ajuwon delineates Ogun's hunting and warfare skills as they appear in "Iremjoe," a corpus of poetic chants sung at funeral ceremonies, held for deceased hunters. These rites of passage for the dead appear in a number of societies. The overall message is that followers of Ogun are alone, but leaders who are judged by their achievements. Ogun embraces a catalogue of the ideals associated with the "good life" (p. 196).

The last two essays by Margaret Thompson Drewal and Henry John Drewal extend the volume's discussions of Ogun and performance. Margaret Thompson Drewal gives an account of possession dances in Yorubaland and in Brazil, finding marked similarities for ritual performances for Ogun. Drewal argues convincingly that dance manifestations of Ogun allow perception of the gods personified in coherent and consistent contexts. Henry John Drewal pursues this reification of the gods in Yoruba scarification. First demonstrating the importance of iron tools, Drewal then shows how Yoruba body artists' skills at circumcision and facial scarification place individuals in a larger social and cosmic universe.

Each of the essays is well-argued and offers far more complex analysis than this brief review can suggest. Overall, the volume is a provocative investigation which broadens methods for illuminating traces and currents of the cross-fertilization of African cosmology in the New World. The emphasis on inclusive analysis opens our eyes to previously unseen religious meaning.

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*Ethnicity at work: divided labor on a Central American banana plantation*, by PHILIPPE I. BOURGOIS. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989. xviii + 311 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

This book provides a central insight into the ethnic organization of labor on the Bocas United Fruit plantation, a transnational entity encompassing 200 to 300 miles of Atlantic littoral land between Costa Rica and Panama. To study the ethnic groups recruited into plantation labor and the social and cultural distinctions among them, Bourgois begins by detailing the local and national history of the ethnic groups indigenous to this region, the Bribri, Guaymí, and Kuna. This is not only good ethnography and labor history but good ethnohistory as well. To this picture of indigenous groups Bourgois adds a detailed history of the importation of labor to Central America for not only the United Fruit Company plantations but also the large transportation works of the Central America railroad and Panama Canal under the aegis of the American entrepreneur, Minor G. Keith. He ends his analysis of the ethnic labor structure of the plantation by noting the current practice of making middle level management positions, once held by white North Americans, available to Costa Rican nationals who are of Ladino

ethnicity. Also considered is the impact of the recent political confrontations in other parts of Central America and the use of refugees from Ladino groups in the other Central American nations for labor in the plantations adding national distinctions to the previously detailed ethnic distinctions.

Bourgois is able to provide such a complex portrait of the social division of labor by his access (explained in the introduction) to rare United Fruit company records housed in the United States combined with oral histories and interview material from previous and past workers and management which comprised his field research in Central America. He contextualized this information in archival historical research conducted in both the United States and France. Bourgois provides not only accounts of what workers and local officials were doing vis-à-vis United Fruit, but also United Fruit sources on management policies and maneuvers via labor control. However, to those who would offer a class analysis of the ethnic divisions on the United Fruit plantation, Bourgois has this to say:

...scholars and political activists whose analytical framework is based on political economy and class tend to dismiss racism (and even sometimes ethnic identity itself) as an externally imposed manipulation by management.... it has not been necessary for the transnational to foment systematically ethnic differentiation and racism. Ethnicity assumes an ideological dynamic of its own in the struggle over power and scarce resources. (p. 225)

This conclusion completes the central thesis of the book, that ethnicity so divides workers that class unity and consciousness are superseded by ethnic divisions as they coincide with labor divisions.

A more straightforward statement of this provocative and interesting thesis at the beginning of the book and a review of theories of ethnicity as they relate to an understanding of ethnicity within capitalism would have benefited the book. In other words, to justify his thesis, Bourgois should have developed a more theoretical discussion of ethnicity. Recent theories of ethnicity have long sought to relate the assignation of ethnic difference to forms of power and this study of United Fruit could have provided contributions to many important questions raised in these theoretical debates had Bourgois chosen to pursue them.

Bourgois's portrayal of black groups in the book is less informed than his consideration of the Ladino and Indian groups. Specifically, in places Bourgois seems to fault "West Indian blacks" for class unity and racial consciousness even while stressing that it is cultural (and national) differences that separate "Spanish" and "Indians". For example he seems not to understand that the connections of Jamaican blacks to "English" culture are as ethnically distinct and powerful as those connecting Ladinos to "Latin" culture, as undefined as these "cultures" may be. However, many anthro-

pologists fail to understand that culture is as significant as skin color in uniting or dividing black groups.

Despite these theoretical limitations, Bourgois's knowledge of the politics and history of Central America is extensive; I could fill in gaps in my knowledge of Central American ethnic groups with Bourgois's carefully researched history of battles of Miskito with other indigenous groups and the ethnic hierarchies of these groups, strategies of procuring labor in the large infrastructural works of the nineteenth century, and the immigration policies of Central American nations who were host to these workers. By focusing on the differences in the maintenance of traditional culture and organizations among the Guaymí and Kuna indigenous groups and the history of their recruitment into labor in the United Fruit plantations, Bourgois provides a new perspective for understanding cultural and social change as it relates to oppression. The Kuna maintenance of traditional institutions and leadership has served as insulation from what Bourgois calls "conjugated oppression" (p. 224) where class exploitation conflates with ethnic domination. Bourgois uses the history of the Guaymí to illustrate this type of ideological cum economic domination. Guaymí who came from the interior were misled by acculturated Guaymí and United Fruit management in the early stages of their transition to wage labor in the 1940s. Since then they have been accommodated in inferior, crowded housing on the plantation, subjected to strict labor control and cheated out of pay by the company, exposed constantly to hazardous pesticides and fertilizers, and given the most strenuous and dangerous physical labor. According to Bourgois, the Guaymí are discriminated against by all the other ethnic groups on the plantation and exclusively socialize with other Guaymí as a reaction against this discrimination, internalizing the racism which contributes to their passivity. Bourgois's detailing of company records shows a United Fruit company management's manipulation of labor and host governments, union-busting tactics, and land appropriation techniques from indigenous groups and peasant farmers. In my years in graduate school, much was made of "studying from the top down," yet anthropological studies that meet that criterion are still rare enough to count on fingers. Unlike some of these studies that only consider elites, Bourgois's book truly exemplifies the goal of looking at all the classes in a nation or organization to understand the economic, political, and social relations among them.

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*El Caribe ¿zona de paz? geopolítica, integración, y seguridad*, by ANDRÉS SERBIN. Caracas: Editorial Nueva Sociedad, 1989. 188 pp. (Paper n.p.)

[Editors' Note. This book is also available in English: *Caribbean geopolitics: toward security through peace?* Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner, 1990. (Cloth US\$ 25.00)]

Andrés Serbin's book makes a triple contribution to the Caribbean region. In the first place, it treats the non-Hispanic Caribbean, which is not included in most Spanish-language books about the area; second, it analyzes the Caribbean from an integrating perspective; and third, it discusses the viability of converting the Caribbean into a peace zone.

After sketching the different definitions of the Caribbean, for the purpose of his analysis, Serbin defines the region as the insular Caribbean, the Guianas, and Belize (p. 30). He then examines the factors that have caused the failure of different strategies adopted by the Caribbean countries for their economic development, of the attempts at integration, and of regional economic cooperation such as the CARIFTA and later the CARICOM.

According to Serbin, the relations between Latin America and the Caribbean are marked by a series of political divergencies. The most important of these is the Latin American perception that the Caribbean states act in accordance with the interests of Great Britain. In the economic realm, Latin America-Caribbean relations have not produced concrete initiatives of integration, and the attempts at multilateral cooperation have been limited (p. 72). However, on several occasions initiatives of economic bilateral cooperation have been established by the Latin American powers: Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, and Brazil (pp. 76-81).

The second part of the book describes the geopolitical character of the area. Particular emphasis is given to the military transformation of the region, particularly notable in Jamaica, Guyana, Grenada, and Barbados (the last of which converted into the base for the militarization of the region initiated by the United States [p. 91]). On the other hand, during the Reagan administration, Puerto Rico played a fundamental role in strengthening the military presence of the United States in the region.

Serbin argues that the Caribbean is important for the United States for several reasons: (a) because it strategically unites the country with Western Europe, Western Africa, and the Persian Gulf, (b) because of the enormous amount of United States investments in the area, (c) because of the large number of U.S. citizens in the region and (d) because of the extensive migration of Caribbean people to the United States (pp. 109-10).

The third part of the book is devoted to the fundamental measures that would have to be taken to establish a peace zone in the Caribbean. These

measures include withdrawal of the extraregional actors, denuclearization, control of arms, and acceptance of the Caribbean by the global powers as a peace zone. Throughout the book we see the role that the extraregional actors such as the United States, the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, and the old colonial powers have played in the region.

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*"With all, and for the good of all": the emergence of popular nationalism in the Cuban communities of the United States, 1848-1898*, by GERALD E. POYO. Durham NC: Duke University Press, 1989. xvii + 182 pp. (Cloth US\$ 28.95)

*José Martí and the émigré colony in Key West: leadership and state formation*, by C. NEALE RONNING. New York: Praeger, 1990. 175 pp. (Cloth US\$ 35.00)

The fields of immigration history and Cuban studies are enriched by the publication of Gerald Poyo's *"With all and for the good of all": the emergence of popular nationalism in the Cuban communities of the United States*, and C. Neal Ronning's *José Martí and the émigré colony in Key West*. These monographs provide a major contribution to our understanding of Cuban immigrants in the United States. In particular, both books underscore the importance of Key West as a linchpin in the nineteenth-century struggle for Cuban independence.

A familiar pattern of scholarship has characterized the field of immigration history. First-generation immigrants, more concerned with colony building and careers, rarely left behind archives and reminiscences. Second-generation studies tended to be hagiographic and preoccupied with the listing of immigrant gifts and contributions to the host society. Not until the third generation, the conventional wisdom held, had groups mustered the distance and resources to analyze ethnicity and immigration in scholarly terms.

The three-generation model made sense when surveying the historical literature covering the "new" immigrants, the massive emigration from southern and eastern Europe, 1880-1930. The model makes less sense when studying Caribbean emigration in general and Cuban emigrants in par-



ticular. The pioneering Cuban settlements at Key West and Tampa, Florida left a remarkable archival legacy of newspapers and records detailing life and work in the ethnic enclaves. In addition, a number of observers "present at the creation," such as Manuel Deulofeu, José Rivero Muñiz, and Juan J.E. Casasus, wrote impressive histories and memoirs of the era. Now, Poyo and Ronning have effectively explored the rich archival legacy of the late nineteenth century.

The Ten Years' War (1868-1878) functioned as a seminal event in the struggle for Cuban independence and the creation of the émigré community in Key West. Independence and emigration were inseparable. The exodus of thousands of Cubans to New York City, New Orleans, Key West, and later Tampa and Martí City (Ocala) provided capital, ideas, and guns for the ensuing revolution.

A remarkable Cuban community evolved in Key West. By the 1880s, "Cayo Hueso" featured almost one-hundred cigar factories employing 3,000 workers and producing 100 million cigars annually. Some 5,000 Cubans resided on the isle, where they supported myriad voluntary associations and competing ideologies.

José Martí occupies an omnipresent profile in Poyo's and Ronning's works. The title of the former's book is derived from Martí's famous speech delivered at the Liceo Cubano in Tampa, November 26, 1891. Yet while both authors paint a heroic portrait of Martí, they understand that the so-called Apostle of Cuban Liberty was not *the* movement. Martí did not single-handedly forge the tools of revolution; rather he found well organized communities deeply committed to economic justice and political independence. In the works under review, José Martí, like Martin Luther King, is not a saint but a person besieged by friends and enemies. Martí, like King, must be understood in the context of this complex canvas. Finally, Martí and King drew upon the resources of an extraordinarily-talented cadre of leaders – in the case of the former, men and women such as Antonio Maceo, Ramón Rivero y Rivero, José Delores Poyo, Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, Carlos Baliño, Paulina Pedrosa, and others.

The strength of Poyo's work derives from his ability to penetrate the divergent Spanish sources and unravel the ideological divisions. The quarrelsome debate centered around the truest and most expedient path to *Cuba Libre*. The ideal of a liberated Cuba brought into fierce discussion conflicting issues such as slave emancipation, race relations, labor, and ideological conflict. Poyo traces the process by which Cuban nationalism changed and competing ideologies clashed, carefully delineating the links between nationalism and the social composition of the exile communities. Martí's genius was his talent in bringing together labor radicals, who believed that a

just social and economic order must precede political freedom, and popular nationalists, who believed primarily in the struggle for independence.

The dialectic of Cuban emigration and political agitation forms the analytical and organizational framework of "*With all, and for the good of all.*" Where Poyo's interests centered around the intertwined ideological and social relationships among cigarmakers, anarchists, and editors, Ronning is principally interested in analyzing the leadership of José Martí. A political scientist, Ronning divides his book into chapters interpreting Martí's evolving style of leadership and the character of the Key West émigré colony.

While Poyo and Ronning have advanced our understanding of Cubans in Key West, there is still much to explore. "*With all and for the good of all*" and *José Martí and the émigré colony in Key West* define their subject narrowly, principally through the analysis of politics and leadership. Future historians and writers will be able to build upon the foundation laid by these works. We still know relatively little about the dynamic institutional life planted by the numerous Cuban mutual aid societies. The role of Cuban women in defining the meaning of *la patria* and their activities in the many voluntary associations have yet to be explored thoroughly.

In conclusion, through careful research and solid prose, Poyo and Ronning have produced studies that immeasurably enlarge our understanding of Cuban emigration and the struggle for Cuban independence. The authors provide perceptive insights into the events of the late nineteenth century, a remarkable epoch marked by historical realignments and social transformation.

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*The Church and socialism in Cuba*, by RAUL GOMEZ TRETO. Translated from the Spanish by Phillip Berryman. Maryknoll NY: Orbis, 1988. xii + 151 pp. (Paper US\$ 12.95)

*Between God and the party: religion and politics in revolutionary Cuba*, by JOHN M. KIRK. Tampa FL: University of South Florida Press, 1989. xxi + 231 pp. (Cloth US\$ 22.00, Paper US\$ 15.00)

Old-fashioned historians used to insist that contemporary history was always deficient because it lacked perspective. To that one would always re-

tort that up to the eighteenth century almost all the great writers of western history wrote about their own times: Herodotus, Thucydides, Tacitus, Propertius, William of Tyre, Joinville, Machiavelli, Bernal Díaz del Castillo.

One is tempted to reconsider the old timers' dictum when one reads these two monographs on the relations between socialist Cuba and the Catholic Church. The window of opportunity for these books has been so brief that reading them now one feels that they are already dated. Unfortunately the authors seized the moment, but forgot the *longue durée*.

Kirk is entirely negative on the Cuban Catholic Church in colonial days. Gomez Treto is much more eager to point out the values and the successes of churchmen of the past, but for both authors the picture is largely negative until the last twenty-two years. The message is that in previous times the Church was a captive of the dominant classes and did not exercise fully its evangelical responsibilities. The shock therapy of the Cuban Revolution, which caused an exodus from the island by many of the conservative clergy and the upper classes which patronized them, freed the Catholic Church to address social concerns and open itself up to contacts with the new secular realities in Cuban society. For Gomez Treto it was Fidel Castro himself who pointed out the way for the Church to find its niche in the new Cuban Society.

Such an opportunistic treatment of the history of the Cuban Catholic Church has become most inopportune. The moralistic tone in Gomez Treto, deploring the recent perverse past while chanting the fullness of the new socialist humanity, strikes one as naive. Kirk is more balanced, but also more distant.

There is no feeling for popular religiosity in these books; the Church is the clerical, sacramental institution that issues documents, and the review of its personnel amounts only to an episcopology. Why did some people in socialist Cuba keep practicing Catholicism against mounting pressures? Why are these pressures and persecutions so faintly acknowledged? What has been the role of Cuban women (aside from the Daughters of Charity) in the Church and how has it evolved in recent years?

The role of Catholic educational institutions in the development of Cuba is olympically dismissed in both books; indeed, for Gomez Treto the main witness is Fidel Castro himself and his reminiscences of his upbringing. The Church's social works in hospitals and asylums is given cursory acknowledgment, but there is no interest in ascertaining how such service has been modified in practice by the socialist regime.

The whole world of mentalities is shunned. What, for instance, has the eradication of Christmas and Holy Week from the civil calendar meant? What has the interplay been between the socialist code of morals and the

traditional Christian ethic? Rural Cuba is absent and silent throughout, and one wonders what forms of religiosity are alive there.

Kirk's book attempts to link the Cuban experience to other Latin American realities. It is a sign of Gomez Treto's isolation that he can only marshal commonplaces about the Latin American Church after Vatican Council II.

Both books are well documented, but the documents are always the official ones; there is no effort to do oral history, to document in other ways ecclesiastical realities, and to give a picture of the day-to-day life of contemporary parishes. These books are useful introductions to some aspects of contemporary relations between the Cuban state and the Church, but it is obvious that many surprises will await researchers when in a future date the Vatican Archives' documentation for the reigns of John XXIII and Paul VI are opened.

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*Puerto Rico en la economía política del Caribe*, edited by CARMEN GAUTIER MAYORAL, ANGEL I. RIVERA ORTIZ & IDSA E. ALEGRÍA ORTEGA. Río Piedras PR: Ediciones Huracán, 1990. 204 pp. (Paper US\$ 11.95)

*Puerto Rico en las relaciones internacionales del Caribe*, edited by CARMEN GAUTIER MAYORAL, ANGEL I. RIVERA ORTIZ & IDSA E. ALEGRÍA ORTEGA. Río Piedras PR: Ediciones Huracán, 1990. 195 pp. (Paper US\$ 11.95)

Perhaps one of the most deeply-rooted points of divergence between the Latin American states and the United States, which goes beyond the impact of geopolitical factors tied to the East-West confrontation, has been the Puerto Rican situation. Aside from any other consideration, most of the Latin American population considers Puerto Rico to be an integral part of the Latin American community for historical, linguistic, and cultural reasons, despite its current political status and the possibility that it may become the fifty-first state of the United States. Thus, the repeated Latin American pressures in the United Nations Decolonization Committee to offer Puerto Ricans the opportunity to choose any of the three possible political alternatives for the future: to persist in its present situation as an

associated state, to become another state of the United States, or to gain political independence.

The three options have been debated throughout 1990 in Congress during discussions on the summoning of a plebiscite in 1991 to decide on the island's future status; the debates have fully reflected Puerto Rico's principal currents of thought and political affiliations, within the framework of a common willingness to solve the situation once and for all. President Bush, in turn, while supporting the alternative of incorporating Puerto Rico as the fifty-first state of the Union, has also expressed his willingness for the plebiscite to be held soon. However, although the House of Representatives has voted in favor, the Senate has postponed its decision based on its difference of opinion as to the compulsory nature of the results of the polls; it is causing the popular vote on the island's status to be postponed, perhaps to 1993.

Since the 1950s, Puerto Rico has been a key reference point in discussions on development strategies to be implemented in the Caribbean, in relation to the "industrialization by invitation" model promoted on the island. But, aside from this debate, its strategic and economic importance for the United States and its impact and influence in the region, together with the various positions taken as to its political status by regional and extra-regional actors, have demonstrated its relevant role in regional and hemispheric relations and, occasionally, in international relations in general.

Within this framework, these two collective volumes on Puerto Rico in Caribbean political economy and international relations constitute a major contribution. It is regrettable, however, that they have been published so late, since most of the articles were written before 1986 and have been published in a preliminary and limited version in 1987, in several periodical publications. Contributions, furthermore, are markedly imbalanced.

The fact that the set was published so late has caused its publication in 1990 to occur in a context of a significantly different international situation from that of the mid-1980s, with the increased trend towards formation of economic megablocs and the impact of *perestroika* in the USSR, with its effects on political change in Eastern Europe and on relations between East and West. In this regard, development of a free trade zone in North America is particularly important since the signing of the USA-Canada agreements and steps taken towards establishment of similar agreements between the USA and Mexico will have centripetal effects on the Caribbean Basin. Moreover, the insertion of the Caribbean generally and of Puerto Rico in particular in the international system after the end of the cold war poses new questions as to the strategic importance traditionally ascribed to the region and the role which is attributed to the island in this context, in relation to U.S. interests.

Bearing in mind these changes, the first volume offers a set of important contributions from the analytical and conceptual point of view, despite the fact that it is not up to date. The articles by Angel Israel Rivera Ortiz on changes in the world economic and political system and their impact on greater relative autonomy for the Caribbean and Puerto Rico and by Emilio Pantojas on complementarity of the military, economic, and political levels of the U.S. project in the region (as well as his analysis on the crisis of the development model and capitalist restructuring in relation to a redefinition of the role of Puerto Rico in hemispheric economics) are especially significant analytical contributions on the strategic, economic, and political insertion of Puerto Rico in the regional and international sphere and the reasons why the United States has ascribed such strategic and economic importance to the island. The analytical capacity of these papers is not limited to studying Puerto Rico from the point of view of its internal political and economic dynamics; it is also based on the use made by both authors of concepts such as "relative autonomy" and "hegemony" which, regardless of their theoretical affiliation, reveals a sound conceptual approach to the topic. From this perspective, the remaining papers in the volume are a favorable complement to the trend posed by these contributions.

The approach of the second volume is more clearly related to a point of view which, though of a contemporary nature, is predominantly historical; it is based on a significant accumulation of documentary data which, in some cases, such as in the article by Carmen Gautier on Puerto Rico and the United Nations and that of Idsa Alegría on attempts at joining UNESCO, would seem to be farraginous technical-juridical treatises. The contributions to the same volume made by Robert Anderson on the role of Puerto Rico in the Caribbean and by Rodríguez Beruff on Puerto Rico and militarization in the region are noteworthy from a less descriptive and more analytical perspective.

However, if we disregard the unequal character of the contributions and the late publication, the two volumes, taken together, are an important complement to the historical study of Puerto Rico's regional and international insertion, which is fundamental for understanding the future political evolution of the island in any of the three scenarios presented by the eventual plebiscite.

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*A revolution aborted: the lessons of Grenada*, edited by JORGE HEINE. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1990. x + 351 pp. (Cloth US\$ 34.95)

This is a collection of fourteen insightful essays grouped under the headings The Domestic Record, International Affairs, Crisis and Aftermath, and A Comparative Assessment. In addition, Jorge Heine, the editor and himself a contributor, provides an Introduction and Bibliographic Guide to the Grenada Revolution. By no means do the papers presented here adhere to a consistent viewpoint. Even those, however, which are most critical such as those by Frederic L. Pryor and Robert Pastor present reasoned and informed discussions of the snares and traps which awaited the PRG in the realm of foreign policy. By the same token, those authors who write from the political Left, such as Paget Henry and Jorge Heine, are sensitive to the weaknesses in the theory and practice of the Maurice Bishop headed government. In sum, this volume presents some of the best and most sophisticated writing which has appeared concerning the Grenada Revolution.

The papers presented make it clear that the experience of the Grenada Revolution cannot be appreciated without coming fully to grips with its international connections to the Soviet bloc. The leaders of the New Jewel Movement consciously patterned their revolution according to the model of the "non-capitalist path" which was developed by Soviet analysts, pursued economic aid from the Warsaw Bloc nations with great energy, and of course were the beneficiaries of considerable assistance from Cuba. In this the Grenada leadership looked to the socialist world not only as a source of resources, but as well as an emotional and, at least to some extent, even a military counterweight to the pressures emanating from Washington. Generally, these essays take seriously both the advantages and costs associated with the Bishop/Coard Government's identifying in this way with the socialist bloc. But what is not remarked upon is that the Grenada Revolution may be the last revolution able to do so. Either because the fall of the Soviet Union from super power status was not appreciated by the authors or because the papers included here had been prepared well before the events of 1989 and 1990, the importance of the collapse of communism in Central Europe is not reported or commented upon.

This omission exacts its costs in those numerous sections in this collection where the author undertakes an examination of the implications of the Grenada Revolution for the Caribbean Left. The circumstances which face socialists and radicals are now entirely different from the days in the 1970s when Jamaica, Nicaragua, Grenada, and even to some extent Guyana could look for support to the communist countries. No longer can a radical regime realistically do so. As a result, the task which faces the Caribbean

Left in its struggle to overcome poverty in a context of democratic fairness has been dramatically transformed. On one hand liberated, by necessity, from the rigidities and irrelevancies of Soviet doctrine, the Left now necessarily will have to turn to the task of creating its own theoretical perspectives. But at the same time, the risks associated with challenging for power have increased because no patron nation is going to be there to help a revolutionary government deal with the hostility which in all likelihood will emerge from the United States. The failure to be responsive to this fundamental change makes some parts of this collection read as if they were appropriate for some distant period in the historical past, certainly not for the context in which the political Left in the region will find itself in the 1990s.

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*Smiles and blood: the ruling class response to the workers' rebellion of 1937 in Trinidad and Tobago*, by SUSAN CRAIG. London: New Beacon Books, 1988. vii + 70 pp. (Cloth £ 9.50, Paper £ 4.50)

*Elma Francois: the NWCSA and the workers' struggle for change in the Caribbean in the 1930s*, by RHODA REDDOCK. London: New Beacon Books, 1988. vii + 60 pp. (Cloth £ 9.50, Paper £ 4.50)

These two slim volumes are useful contributions in the effort to flesh out the modern history of labor struggle and political practice in Trinidad and Tobago. Because the bourgeois nationalism of the People's National Movement under Eric Williams dominated political life for an extended period, the struggles of radical workers' movements have received little previous attention.

Of the two studies, the more successful is Rhoda Reddock's account of the work of the Negro Welfare Cultural and Social Association and the brief career of the altogether remarkable Elma Francois. I was especially struck by the consistent and principled ideological stance of the NWCSA, particularly as it was frequently elaborated by Elma Francois. Yet, despite their differences with other populist leaders like Cipriani and Butler and their recognition of the bourgeois tendencies of the former and the contradictory self-promotion of the latter, the NWCSA demonstrated a political sophistication and pragmatism which allowed them to work with these



other ideologically confused movements in the effort to bring about the end of colonial domination.

There is also in this examination a clear picture of collusion of colonial government and vested interests in the society. Recognition by the authorities that Elma Francois and her colleagues represented serious threats to the colonial order is demonstrated in the persecution they were made to endure, culminating in sedition trials. The extent of the government's war on assertive anti-colonial tendencies, and the effects in terms of draining energies, time, and resources are well illustrated.

I would offer only one small quibble with the book. I take seriously Reddock's case that the NWCSA sought broader worker representation beyond the African-Trinidadian population which is implied in its name. It is also clear that Elma Francois' statement at her sedition trial and the Association's solidarity with the Chinese people after the 1938 Japanese invasion indicate the movement's global solidarity with working and oppressed peoples.

However, one passage quoted from Dudley Mahon, asserting that "The Abyssinian War [invasion of Ethiopia by Italy in 1935] awakened the consciousness of the Trinidad working class" (pp. 18-19), cannot go unchallenged. In the roll call of activities and protests initiated and organized by the NWCSA to address this issue, it was clearly the African working class which was mobilized.

If this is a small matter in *Elma Francois*, it is more problematical in *Smiles and blood*. Although the author asserts that the 1937 rebellion was representative of African and Indian workers alike, little is presented regarding the rising of Indian workers in the sugar belt, although, in her work, Reddock mentions hunger marches inspired by the earlier example of the NWCSA.

Another problem is Susan Craig's examination of the role of the Governor of the period, Sir Murchison Fletcher. Craig is dismissive of Fletcher's role during the disturbances, a role which, as she notes, has frequently been viewed as benign and well-meaning if, in the end, ineffective in resolving the crisis peacefully and justly. She concludes that Fletcher's dilemma and ultimate failure (he was recalled by the Colonial Office) resulted from the fact that "no man can serve two masters" (p. 45).

But that was precisely the kind of position in which any conscientious governor found himself. Gordon Lewis has outlined in detail the inherent contradictions of the office and, as he indicates, these are only revealed in the experience of those rare individuals who took seriously their obligations on behalf of the people in the face of the considerable pressures which could be brought to bear by the vested interests in the colony (Lewis 1968:102-6).

The real difficulty with *Smiles and blood* is that the subject of this study simply cannot be adequately dealt with in a scant fifty pages of text. Confined as she is to this slim format, Craig's study must pose more questions that it can answer. Thus, an examination of the background of the 1937 rebellion and the response it engendered remains to be elaborated. Susan Craig has done the research and we must hope for a more comprehensive account from her hand.

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*Democracy by default: dependency and clientelism in Jamaica*, by CARLENE J. EDIE. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, and Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991. xiv + 170 pp. (Cloth US\$ 25.50)

*Jamaican politics: a Marxist perspective in transition*, by TREVOR MUNROE. Kingston, Jamaica: Heinemann Publishers (Caribbean) and Boulder CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991. 322 pp. (Paper US\$ 29.95)

Compared with most other Caribbean countries the political development of Jamaica has been fairly extensively researched, but this does not mean that the literature is yet anything like adequate, so the addition of two more works is most welcome. Dr. Edie, whose book is in fact her doctoral thesis, represents a new generation of Jamaican scholars, and her approach, although radical, is suitably eclectic for a period when old orthodoxies are apparently collapsing. She takes the mainstream academic concept of patronage and weds it to the (neo)Marxist concept of dependency, arguing that the reason Jamaican politics has remained relatively stable (with two major parties rotating in office through regular elections), and therefore apparently democratic, is that the parties can keep followers bound to themselves through patronage, with funds coming through the country's dependence on foreign patrons. Her final verdict is that scarcity of re-

sources may lead to the collapse of the patronage system and hence of democracy as Jamaica knows it, and that survival of the "Western model" in fact depends on "fundamental changes" in the distribution of wealth (p. 150).

This approach is interesting and in principle convincing. However, the book contains a number of theoretical and research problems which flaw it quite badly. Most notable in the former category is the handling of the nature of the state and classes. Edie avoids the more conventional Marxist idea of "ruling" classes, but her substitutes remain somewhat elusive. Instead we find a "political elite" which may or may not be the same as the "political directorate," and a "middle class" which at times seems to be the most powerful of all, although the bureaucracy is also somewhere in the picture. The "state" (elite plus bureaucracy?) is able to dominate the local capitalists (pp. 78-79). The state is largely autonomous, but in the next sentence seems to become "the *state-controlling* middle class party leaders" (p. 146, my emphasis). A further theoretical problem is the failure to specify exactly how the domestic patronage system is linked to the dependency relations of trade and aid. Presumably the key element here is the state apparatus, but apart from a vague autonomy its real nature remains unclear; here attention to the process of policy formation and execution, on which there is a rich theoretical literature, would have paid dividends.

This is also where one of the research problems appears. Would it not have been possible, by using budgetary data, actually to *quantify* quite well the various forms in which state funds are fed into the patronage system? Tracing and quantifying the flow of funds through state budgets and aid projects would also have shown the extent and nature of the relationship between domestic patronage and international dependency. Again, without even rough quantification the insistence that lower class livelihood is *dependent* on party patronage (p. 19) must remain a supposition, unless one assumes (again without quantification) that all state expenditure is channelled through party patronage. In that respect, another problem with the research is the failure to consider the key role of party-aligned trade unions in controlling employment through negotiating "closed shop" agreements.

Lastly, Edie mentions, but does not fully take account of, an important feature of Jamaican voting behaviour which runs against her thesis. In almost every general election, a sufficiently large proportion of voters switches sides to throw out the incumbents and bring in the opposition. Surely that tells us something about the real strength of the patronage system which is supposed to be so dominant.

The book by Trevor Munroe, Jamaican political science lecturer and the island's long-term Communist leader, is of a different kind. The fact that

this book in a sense exists on two levels makes it rather difficult to review. On one level, it traces the formation of the thought of a convinced Marxist about the changes in the political situation in his country since the mid-1960s; this means it will be extremely valuable for his future biographers or for anyone making a study of the evolution of the Left, to which Munroe's thought and leadership have been central for twenty years. In form the book consists of six essays, plus an interview with the pioneer Jamaican Marxist Richard Hart and an introduction. The introduction, dated January 1990, is extremely interesting in showing the impact of world events in the last few years on a person who has been admirably dedicated in struggling, at considerably personal cost, to maintain and develop a socialist presence in Jamaica. Evidently, the process of rethinking has already gone quite far, since it includes rejecting the Marxist-Leninist "vanguard party" in favor of a "party-movement" with a federal structure in which member organizations have "exclusive rights and responsibilities" and the centre "its own sphere" (p. 25). Similarly, too, of his own organization, the Workers' Party of Jamaica; in a proper spirit of self-criticism, he finds this party wanting in a number of respects, including in its approach to that key Caribbean issue, race.

On a second, more conventionally academic level, Dr. Munroe's book is more questionable. Four of the essays have been published before, raising the issue of whether the academic or interested lay public needs to have them printed again; one was written as far back as 1966, another in 1971, and a third in 1977. Republishing them now, without revision, means that the subsequent work of people like George Beckford, Lloyd Best, Michael Kaufman, Ken Post, Evelyne and John Stephens and Carl Stone has not been taken into account, inevitably dating them to one degree or another. This is not to deny the value of parts of the analyses for contemporary scholars, but this value is chiefly as a record of past reactions and debates (especially that on the "New World" school, active in the middle and late 1960s, with the essay written in 1971). It seems uncertain whether Munroe's dedication to the struggle will ever permit him to take time to write the major analysis of which he is capable. One remains torn between hoping that it will, for the sake of scholarship, and hoping not, for the sake of the future of socialism in Jamaica.

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*Michael Manley: the making of a leader*, by DARRELL E. LEVI. Athens GA: University of Georgia Press, 1990. 349 pp. (Cloth US\$ 29.95)

This is a competently researched biography of the Jamaican leader, Michael Manley, who was born in 1924. It begins with an account of his family, interests, and friends, focusing on the influences of his extraordinary parents. His father, Norman Washington Manley, champion schoolboy athlete, Rhodes Scholar, Oxford-trained lawyer, top West Indian lawyer, informed lover of literature, music and art, founder of the People's National Party, and Jamaican National Hero. And his mother, Edna Manley, talented artist, sensitive human being, empathic witness of Jamaican experience for people of all classes and colors.

The account continues with Manley's roots in Jamaican history and family background, his youth, his years as a student at Jamaica College, his World War II service in the Royal Canadian Air Force, his post-World War II studies at the London School of Economics and the influence of Harold Laski, his work in the early 1950s as a budding journalist for *The London Observer* where he wrote much on imperialism, racism, and nationalism, his development as a trade unionist and his emergence as a political leader in Jamaica from 1952 to 1972, his tenure as Prime Minister from 1972 to 1980 and the fate of democratic socialism, his political defeat, and, finally, his return to political power after the elections of February 9, 1989.

The narrative of Manley's life is set within the context of Jamaica's political transition from British colony to politically independent nation-state, independent Jamaica's subsequent struggles with crime, political violence, poverty, economic development, and the International Monetary Fund, and Jamaica's role on the larger world stage, especially as part of the post-World War II emergence of the Third World.

There are some problems with the book. Even though Levi apparently had the cooperation of Manley and others, it remains an outsider's account. Thus, backstage activities are sometimes missed and we see only what happened when the curtain was up – or we switch to an account of someone else (e.g., Nkrumah or Gairy) to fill a gap in Manley's story. Also, there are occasionally debatable assertions. For example, commenting on attitudes toward Jamaica's independence, Levi says that "gloom and doubt surrounded the event, which to many observers appeared almost hollow." This is misleading, to say the least. Yes, there were different attitudes towards independence, including some negative ones from conservative, well-to-do Jamaicans, who had doubts precisely because for them independence was *not* hollow. It represented a real threat to them, or so some of them thought. Moreover, the mood in the country at the time, generally, was far from gloomy. It was, rather, a festive occasion that demanded celebration.

The book is politically skewed toward a favorable account of democratic socialism, which the author, to his credit, explicitly acknowledges, but which is justified by a misapplied belief in "the essential subjectivity of life." "This book," Levi continues, "will be my truth; others will find their own." Fortunately, Levi implicitly rejects this view as he proceeds to do a good scholarly job of documenting most of his assertions and objectively evaluating the evidence. The only fault I would cite, in addition to his failure to give an insider's account, is that he makes less use of existing social research than he could have. Historical methods, I think, need to be enlarged today since the history being discussed, as in this case, may include a recent time period about which a great deal of modern social research is available.

Nonetheless, Levi has made a contribution. Caribbean scholars will be happy to have the book, as I am. Among other things, it reminds us, once again, what a decent, dedicated man of integrity Michael Manley is. He is a practical man who has been bludgeoned by the political battles of decades who, nonetheless, remains committed to the sanctity of the individual, honesty, equal opportunity and equal rights, social justice, truth, democracy, responsibility, compassion, and reconciliation. He is a man, moreover, who believes, as Levi makes clear, that knowledge is necessary for responsible action, a man within whose life thought and action are wedded.

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*The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: a history of resistance, collaboration & betrayal*, by MAVIS C. CAMPBELL. Granby MA: Bergin & Garvey, 1988. vi + 296 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

Slaves were always on the lookout for propitious moments to throw off their chains. The slaves in Jamaica saw their opportunity when the English invaded the island in 1655. This former Spanish colony had never been of great economic importance. The island was underdeveloped and only sparsely populated. At the time of the English invasion it counted about 1300 Spaniards and an equal number of Negroes. No sooner had the English set foot ashore than the slaves moved to the hills, where they established the first settlements of *cimarrones*. In *The Maroons of Jamaica 1655-1796*, Mavis C. Campbell describes the history of these Maroons. Her description is based not only on the extensive literature on the subject but also

on a systematic study of various archives, mainly the Journal of the Assembly of Jamaica and the Colonial Office. In addition, her sources include songs, folklore, and interviews with Maroon dignitaries; regrettably, we find very few oral traditions in the book.

There are many misconceptions and misrepresentations regarding the Jamaica Maroons. Some of them are due to the fact that many authors have relied mainly on secondary sources, especially because there were plenty of publications on the Jamaica Maroons as early as 1800. Other misconceptions are the result of an ideological bias. Campbell clearly draws a line between ideology and history. She respects the Maroons for their fierce independent spirit, but she does not see them as true revolutionaries or even as reformers, seeking to transform the society from one of servitude to freedom, as happened in Haiti between 1791 and 1804.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century there were two important Maroon groups in Jamaica: the Leeward and the Windward Groups. For the Leeward Group, Cudjoe appeared to be the most important eighteenth-century Maroon leader. The Windward Groups, which also included the Spanish Maroons, did not coalesce under any strong leader, but formed several communities under different leaders. Some of these communities took the names of their leaders, the most famous of which were Nanny Town and Guy Town. Each of the two had a headman by the 1730s. Nanny Town was inhabited by about 300 fighting men, while Guy Town had about 200 inhabitants. The latter is known to have had a wide-open area well planted with sugar cane, cocoa, plantains, yams, melons, and corn, and to have been well supplied with hogs, poultry, and grazing cows.

Under the administration of Governor Robert Hunter (1729-1734), the fight against the Maroons became increasingly fierce, although without any remarkable success. It became clear that the only solution was some sort of settlement. The government decided to defeat the Maroons and offer them peace afterwards. In 1739 the village of Cudjoe was conquered and burned down. Almost immediately after this, the government started peace negotiations, which led to the desired result. Within three months the Windwards were also pacified. The most important result of these peace settlements was that the government recognized the Windward and Leeward Maroons as free people. The Maroons were given land, they were allowed to sell their crops at the market place, and they received hunting rights. They in turn promised to help control the slave force in the future, to fight and kill the rebels, to assist the British in warding off a foreign invasion, and to hand new runaways over to the authorities.

Although the Maroons have generally been loyal allies of the British since the peace settlement, the Leeward Maroons of Trelawny Town rose in

revolt in 1795. The reason was trivial, but with the slave revolt in Haiti in mind, the English reacted violently. The entire population of Trelawny Town, 568 persons, was arrested, embarked, and deported to Nova Scotia. The remaining Maroons have remained peaceful ever since.

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*Rastafari and reggae: a dictionary and sourcebook*, by REBEKAH MICHELE MULVANEY. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1990. xvi + 253 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

Jamaican music commentators have often been at pains to remind foreigners steeped in the Marley mystique that Rastafari and reggae music are not identical. True as this is, there is no denying that the two have been inextricably linked throughout their development, a fact which provides the rationale for the dual focus of this book.

*Rastafari and reggae* is an unusual hybrid volume. In fact, it is four reference works in one, consisting of a dictionary, discography, videography, and bibliography. Although each of these stands on its own, helpful cross-referencing allows the user to move back and forth and to make important connections between the different sections.

At 93 pages (and with 1,500 or so entries), the dictionary is by far the longest section; unfortunately, it is also the weakest. There are more than a few entries of dubious value (some of which belong, and are much better dealt with, in general reference works such as Cassidy's and Le Page's *Dictionary of Jamaican English*). Items such as *Amerindians*, *Chat Fockery* ("a patois phrase which means 'talking nonsense'"), or *Dylan*, *Bob* unnecessarily take up space, while one searches in vain for more relevant terms such as *Itesvar* (the name given by Rastas to the unique language form they have created, referred to here simply as *I-words*) or *skengay* (a particular rhythmic pattern in reggae music usually played on guitar). Definitions are occasionally inaccurate. Moreover, no consistent attempt is made to provide etymologies. This sometimes has lamentable results, as when the distinct words *Ras* (an honorific Ethiopian title) and *rass* (a Jamaican Creole profanity derived from *arse*) are lumped together under a single entry.

Despite these and other shortcomings, the dictionary does contain references that will be helpful even to those who already know a good deal about



the subject. Esoteric Rastafarian slogans and phrases, for instance, are interspersed among the lexical entries, as are the names of many prominent astas, reggae musicians, and producers (although the information provided about them is sometimes too scanty to be of much use).

The discography (containing 200 entries) and videography (with 28 entries) are straightforward listings based on a reasonable selection of some of the most important recordings and films/videos pertaining to Rastafari and reggae. Both are well annotated.

The extensive bibliography – compiled by a separate author, Carlos Nelson – is also annotated. Its 386 entries fall far short of being exhaustive, but represent a substantial cross-section of the varied literature touching in one way or another on Rastafari or reggae. Although there are several significant omissions, most of the more important sources are here, as well as quite a few obscure ones (some in publications such as *Punch* and *Jamaica Constabulary Force Magazine*) that will delight readers who like to range beyond the canonic or the purely academic. Students of Rastafari will appreciate the many references to unpublished theses and dissertations, some of which are likely to be new to even the most thorough of researchers.

The dual focus of this book constitutes both its strength and its weakness. On the one hand, the juxtaposition of references focusing primarily on Jamaican musical culture with others emphasizing various aspects of Rastafari as a political, cultural, and religious movement gives a good idea of the many areas of overlap between the music and the movement. On the other hand, some users will feel that dealing with both domains is too large a task for this kind of volume, with the result that coverage is uneven. Why, for instance, are certain non-Rastafarian musical traditions (*gumbay*, *jamma songs*) and religious forms (*Convince*, *Myal*) included, when a great many others are left out? One would have liked to see a more thorough listing of sources relating to a broader range of Jamaican religious and musical experience.

As it is, this book contains much valuable reference material. After paging through it, one cannot but be impressed by the amount of scholarly (and other) attention both Rastafari and reggae have received in recent times. For the moment, even with its omissions, this volume is the best – and only – thing of its kind we have. As such, it is most welcome.

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*Searching for a slave cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: a bioarcheological and ethnohistorical investigation*, by JEROME S. HANDLER with MICHAEL D. CONNER & KEITH P. JACOBI. Carbondale IL: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University, 1989. xviii + 125 pp. (Paper US\$ 8.00)

Rarely do anthropological works report negative results. For scientists, such results have meaning, but the trouble is finding anyone willing to publish them. Jerome Handler and his associates found support for publication within their university. As a result they present a detailed account of failed efforts to find slave cemeteries on Barbados.

Despite this failure, the report confirms Handler's stature as one of the foremost ethnohistorians of the Caribbean. His reputation rests in no small measure on an innovative archaeological project undertaken on Barbados in the 1970s. Handler's idea, described in the report's first chapter, was to locate the material remains of slave culture. This, he anticipated, would bring to its study a fresh perspective. Excavation of village sites proved unproductive. However, he and Frederick Lange had the good fortune to unearth a slave cemetery at Newton plantation. The grave objects proved instructive. Handler probed further, enlisting Arthur Aufderheide and Robert Corruccini to expand the scope of analysis to skeletal materials. Results included osteological support for the thesis of slave undernutrition and evidence of lead poisoning.

Handler's approach to ethnohistory is as methodical as it is innovative. The main body of this report describes fieldwork in 1987 intended to follow up on Newton and test the validity of previous findings. The account includes descriptions of methods used to locate possible burial sites. It describes how leads were narrowed to five plantation sites. Handler presents detailed descriptions of the plantations and describes how they were surveyed archaeologically. This serves to authenticate the effort, but the bottom line is that the archaeologists came up empty handed.

Handler attributes this to a fundamental error. He assumed the situation of Newton's burial ground on sloped land was typical, and he selected likely sites for the 1987 work accordingly. It appears by virtue of hindsight that Newton's cemetery is atypical. Slopes are prone to erosion, and the burials at Newton are at present near the surface. If such were generally the case, then surely islanders would have knowledge of some unmarked cemetery sites.

Handler's investigation suggests there is no such knowledge. Where are the remains of literally tens of thousands of plantation slaves? Handler now suspects typical burial sites exist in old bottom lands, areas that have accumulated deep soil deposits through erosion. Slave burials are presently too

deep for easy discovery. He predicts heavy construction taking place in certain areas of the island will eventually dig up the bones that eluded him.

Ethnohistory the way Handler produces it advances by trial and error. On occasion, this results in discovery; sometimes it does not. Handler and his colleagues are unable to tell of substantial discoveries at this point, but they confirm dedication to learn about slave culture from the artifactual and skeletal remains of its participants. It is almost unimaginable that when such remains come to light Handler will not be called upon to interpret what mute testimony they might give. The ethnohistory of the region could not be better served.

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*The Dutch in the Caribbean and in Surinam 1791/1942*, by CORNELIS CH. GOSLINGA. Assen, Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1990. xii + 812 pp. (Cloth NLG 142.50)

This is the final volume of a trilogy on the history of the Dutch Caribbean. The first (1971) covered the period 1580-1680, the second (1985) reached into the late eighteenth century; the last takes the story to the early 1940s. Not surprisingly, Goslinga, a Dutch-born emeritus professor of History at the University of Florida in Gainesville, wrote the third volume in much the same way as the previous two, and the book has many of the same merits and shortcomings as its two predecessors.

Unfortunately, in my opinion the shortcomings prevail over the merits of this volume, and indeed of the trilogy as a whole. Certainly, in some 2,200 pages, Goslinga presents an English-reading audience with the general patterns of political and economic history. Moreover, he does so with great expertise in archival research and knowledge of the pertinent printed sources and subsequent historiography. Yet the overall result is disappointing, because the poorly-organized trilogy does not function as the reference work it could have been, and because of the reluctance to discuss social history in any depth.

Some comments on the third volume may substantiate this criticism. First, the composition is problematic. As a result of the effort to present the highly heterogeneous histories of Suriname, the Leeward Antilles, and the Windward Antilles as part of *one* history, the organization of the chapters is

confusing to say the least. There is recurring change of geographical focus in the sequence of chapters. Moreover, the greater emphasis on the Antilles over Suriname is hardly in line with criteria such as economic significance and population figures in the period under discussion. Finally, with only the slightest explanation (pp. 52, 80), the early nineteenth-century history of the Dutch colonies of Berbice, Demerary and Essequibo, taken over by the British during Napoleonic wars, is neglected altogether.

Second, the book is simply too long. The enormous amount of data is presented with a taste for detail that will not please most readers. At the same time, some general lines of development are recounted time and again. By the time one has finished reading this book, one has read scores of times that the Suriname plantation economy was in decline (in 1800, 1860, 1900, 1930, etc.). At the same time, the book does not offer easily accessible vital statistics. Thus, fragmented population figures for the Antilles are given on some 25 different pages, and on some 15 pages for Suriname. An appendix with one table each for the entire period would have better served the reader. The same observation should be made for figures regarding trade, production, etc.

Next, the book opens without any introduction in Curaçao, 1795, and closes with the unlikely terminus of a radio speech by the exiled Queen Wilhelmina, announcing a revision of colonial relations once World War Two would be over. Certainly 1954, the year of the proclamation of the *Statuut* (Charter) would have been a better closing point. All this – and more – could have been improved by thorough editing. Apparently, the publisher did not seriously assume this task.

Goslinga's interests in and interpretations of Dutch Caribbean history are much in line with the earlier volumes: a predilection for political history with economic overtones, and mostly a low profile of social history. Clearly, he is at his best in describing political events, including the presentation of a portrait gallery of failing governors. Economic analysis (e.g. of the demise of the Suriname plantation economy) is descriptive, repetitive, and rather out-dated. In the field of social history, Goslinga rightly feels least at ease. Apparently his wide reading is limited here too. Again, some examples. The presentation of Maroon culture is a gross caricature, and judging from the otherwise impressive bibliography, Goslinga missed major recent anthropological-historical studies. Equally, the discussion of the social effects of post-Emancipation Asian immigration in Suriname is superficial. So are the sections on the massive Caribbean labor migration in Aruba and Curaçao during the twentieth-century oil boom. The all-too-casual remarks on the role of *Papiamentu* and *Sranan* in the Antilles and Suriname, respectively, again testify to a reluctance to probe deeper into the social reality of "Dutch" Caribbean life.

In spite of the expertise and dedication of its author and the wealth of data presented, this last volume in the trilogy, *The Dutch in the Caribbean*, is not the standard reference book one would have hoped for. Properly speaking, neither were volumes 1 and 2, which I reviewed somewhat more positively (*Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, 143, 2/3 [1987]). The closing volume is not of a lesser quality. Rather, I guess, having experienced over the past years the shortcomings of the first two volumes, I read the closing book with future readers' struggles to use *The Dutch in the Caribbean* as a reference book in mind. Unfortunately, such a perspective highlights this volume's shortcomings rather than its merits.

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*Apothekers en chirurgijns: gezondheidszorg op de Benedenwindse eilanden van de Nederlandse Antillen in de negentiende eeuw*, by ALFONS MARTINUS GERARDUS RUTTEN. Assen/Maastricht: Van Gorcum, 1989. xx + 330 pp. (Cloth NLG 79.50)

In this history of health care in Aruba, Bonaire, and particularly Curaçao, the central topics are the regulation of health care and pharmacies, the availability of relevant facilities, and the individuals involved in the practice of medicine and pharmacy in the nineteenth century.

During this era, civil and military hospitals, a leprosium, and an insane asylum provided inpatient care. Yet, in the early part of the century these hospitals held little significance as institutions for medical care. Rather they served as poorhouses. The majority of the sick received care in their own homes. Only in 1855, with the opening of the *Gasthuis* or Hospital of the Franciscan nuns of Breda, did these patients have a place to receive inpatient care. Important, however, is that individuals suffering from incurable diseases were not admitted. Outpatient care was initially the domain of ship's surgeons (*chirurgijns*) who had set up private practices in Curaçao.

During the British interregnum attention was for the first time paid to the qualifications of practicing physicians. Decrees in 1816, 1838, and 1873/74 later established supervisory bodies to regulate the medical profession. Most patients, however, did not turn to qualified physicians but rather to unlicensed native practioners, often called *curiosos* or *curanderos*. In addition, the *hacido di bruha* used magic to cure patients. The sections dealing

with these traditional medical cures and magico-religious practices as well as with the herbs and animal products which were used as folk remedies are among the most interesting of the book.

The final chapter focuses on developments in pharmacy. During most of the last century pharmacy and medicine were closely intertwined in the Netherlands Antilles: physicians served also as pharmacists. Only gradually did the preparation of medicine become the task of pharmacists. The *boticario*, as a pharmacist was known in Curaçao, not only concocted and sold medicine, but also served as a walking encyclopedia and first-aider. The pharmacies served as social institutions as they became popular meeting places for the inhabitants of the islands. Thus there existed a remarkable difference between the functioning of the *boticario* and his colleague in the metropole. The *boticario* fits more into the Latin American than into the European tradition.

*Apothekers en chirurgijns* certainly fills a gap in the literature as the development of health care and pharmacy has received little attention in Antillean and Aruban historiography. In his eagerness to remedy this situation the author in 330 pages, 5 chapters, and nearly 80(!) sub-chapters discusses an almost excessive number of topics, including demographic patterns, climate, diseases, financial subjects, government, laws and regulations, education, personal biographies, medical publications, dentistry, midwifery, social hygiene, and smallpox vaccination. In short, there is something for everyone in this nicely produced volume. As a result, however, it is more descriptive and encyclopedic than analytical in character. Moreover, the many details and very short paragraphs do not enhance the readability of this study. Hopefully, *Apothekers en chirurgijns* will inspire more research into the important topic of the history of health care in the Netherlands Antilles. Many topics that Rutten has only touched upon deserve more detailed study.

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*Ken ta Arubiano? sociale integratie en natievorming op Aruba*, by LUC ALOFS & LEONTINE MERKIES. Leiden: Department of Caribbean Studies, Royal Institute of Linguistics and Anthropology, 1990. xi + 232 pp. (Paper NLG 30.00)

*Ken ta Arubiano?* (Who is an Aruban?) reports on the research done by the authors, with the initial intent of finding an answer. In fact it resulted in an

interesting diachronic analysis of Aruban society. Aruba is one of the few islands in the Caribbean that had little if any experience with the institution of slavery. The island, one of the six island-colonies the Dutch had in the Caribbean, was up until 1754 inhabited mainly by two groups. The first was the Amerindians, the "caquetios" (not "caiquetios"), presumably from the peninsula of Paraguana. The second group consisted of the Dutch administrators and soldiers serving the West Indian Company. Only in 1754 were white people permitted to settle on the island as private colonists. The society of the island developed in relative isolation until the 1920s. During that period the so-called autochthonous Aruban came into being. A mixture of white settlers with the Amerindians and a few blacks living in the "campo." They were mostly Catholics. In the small town of Oranjestad lived the descendants of the white people, mostly Protestants. They were the elite of the society.

With the establishment of the Lago Oil and Transport Company in 1924 the whole scenario changed. In 1927 the company succeeded in getting permission to build a refinery on the island. Consequently there was an enormous influx of people from abroad: Americans and Dutch, but more important in this context, a few thousand Afro-Caribbeans from the other Dutch islands (St. Martin, Saba, St. Eustatia, Curaçao, and Bonaire) and from the British and French West Indian colonies. The Aruban society was massively confronted with people of African descent.

The question the authors try to answer is how these different ethnic groups related to each other, what the result was of the process of social integration that developed, and if at the end of the 1980s one could speak of one Aruban people: the "Arubiano."

Their findings suggest that the Afro-Caribbeans of different ethnic origins amalgamated into one Afro-Caribbean ethnic group that identifies with the island and not with the country of origin of their parents. They consider themselves to be "Arubianos." The question is whether the autochthonous Arubans likewise regard these Afro-Caribbeans as "Arubianos."

To give an answer one has to take into consideration the political dimensions of this process of integration. In the 1970s and 1980s Aruba was involved in a political struggle against Holland and Curaçao, a struggle for more political autonomy. Being for or against this objective was identified with being an Aruban or not.

The party that advocated this so-called "Status Aparte," the *Movemento Electoral di Pueblo* (M.E.P.) under the inspiring leadership of Betico Croes, succeeded in mobilizing the autochthonous Aruban people in the "campo" for this struggle. At the same time, this meant a political and social

emancipation of the people in the "campo."

In this context it is understandable that the people of Afro-Caribbean descent were seen as aliens, especially as their parents had strongly supported the Partido Patriotico Arubano (no mis-spelling), the P.P.A., which was the party in favor of a continued cooperation with Curaçao and the other islands. The authors conclude that at the time they finished their fieldwork in 1985 one could not say that the nationbuilding process had resulted in the amalgamation of the original Aruban ethnic group with the descendants of the Afro-Caribbean ethnic groups. This was due to the political tensions that characterized the relations in the 1970s, in fact until January 1986, when the "Status Aparte" in the Kingdom of the Netherlands was officially granted to Aruba.

Later visits in 1988 showed that with the tensions reduced the answer to whether the Afro-Caribbean ethnic group could be considered Aruban tended to be more positive: there was less doubt about their Arubanism. One can say that in general the authors succeeded fairly well in disentangling this difficult and emotionally loaded problem. But apart from dealing with this core problem the book gives an excellent insight into the way the Aruban society developed.

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*De nacht op de Courage – Caraïbische vertellingen*, by BENNY OOFET et al. Vreeland, the Netherlands: Basispers, 1990. (Music cassette, NLG 25.00)

It is well known that oral traditions throughout the world are seriously threatened by television, cinema, and videotheque. It is therefore important that work has been done on the Surinamese situation by scholars, especially workers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and of the Suriname Department of Cultural Studies – gathering, recording, and documenting oral literature. In recent years, volumes of stories have been published from Javanese story-tellers (in the four-volume series *Javaanse vertellingen uit Suriname*), from Indians (somewhat unreliably edited by Sita Kishna in *Prins Awin en de twee leeuwewelpjes* [1985] and *De fluitspeler* [1986]), from Afro-Surinamese narrators like Aleks de Drie (*Sye, arki tori!* edited by Trudi Guda [1986] and Harry Jong Loy (*Fosten tori*, edited by John Wilner



[1987]), from Maroon story-tellers (in Richard Price's *First-time* [1983] and *Alabi's world* [1990]), from Trio Amerindians (*Oral literature of the Trio Indians of Surinam*, edited by Cees Koelewijn [1987]) and a variety of stories from many Surinamese groups in *Hoor die tori!* (edited by Michiel van Kempen [1990]). All these books record the *texts* of the stories. Inevitably the disadvantage is that the character of the story changes from oral to written. What they do not record is the voice of the story-teller, his or her way of expressing a story with face and body, appearance, the way the audience reacts, the smell of the surroundings, in short: the story as a *performance*. Now Frans Foppe from the publishing house Stichting Basispers has taperecorded six Caribbean stories and published them as *De nacht op de Courage – Caraïbische vertellingen*. Three Surinamese stories are told by the late Benny Ooft and Uno Heinze, three more from the Dutch Antilles by Marcel Frans, Olga Orman, and Pim Heuvel. Included are tales of the type of the famous Anansi-stories, as well as more realistic stories. What the tape makes clear is the wide range of ways to tell a story, of building up tension, of amusing the audience. All five story-tellers are capable of making the audience listen carefully. Of course, a videotape would be even more effective to record the way story-tellers practice their *job*. But even now we get the clear impression of story-telling as a theatrical rather than a verbal-literary skill, or perhaps even more correctly said: *art*.

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*Winti-religie: een Afro-Surinaamse godsdienst in Nederland*, edited by F.E.R. DERVELD & H. NOORDEGRAAF. Amersfoort, the Netherlands: Academische Uitgeverij Amersfoort, 1988. 188 pp. (Paper NLG 24.90)

Over the last few years, many publications have appeared about Winti, an Afro-Surinamese religion. The book under review is based on a 1987 symposium that was organized by the Dutch Council of Churches.

While the volume is rich in variety, many of its articles overlap. Winti is described in each article in roughly the same way; the definitions of Charles Wooding's 1972 study are mentioned throughout. The first topic of the book, perhaps due to its sponsorship by the Council of Churches, concerns the religious aspects of Winti. The need to show that Winti religion is not actually "far and beyond" the Dutch notion of Christianity is central. For

instance W. van Wetering compares communities of "Bush Negroes" with the Jewish-Protestant tradition of villages in the Netherlands, arguing that a religion which is geographically distant can be similar in content (pp. 21-22). J. van Raalte argues that this was not the case for the beliefs of the Dutch colonists who tried to Christianize the African slaves. Van Raalte's article represents an interesting point of view, different from the religious one. He asks why the religions of Moslems and Hindus who entered Suriname as contract laborers (and not as slaves) were much more easily accepted than the Winti religion (p. 44). And he suggests that factors other than simply religious differences were at play, although he draws no firm conclusion. That the book can be called a plea for understanding is also shown by the article of theologist C.R. Muller, who asks, "How can we create a real dialogue with a religion that is so different from ours?" (p. 82) (with "ours" referring to his own).

The second topic of the book is health care. This part consists of a large quantity of case histories involving Winti. It shows how illness is defined within a Winti context and gives a rough idea of the work of traditional healers. The article of J. Schoffelmeer offers a complete transcription of what is known as a "Luku," a meeting in which a traditional healer goes into trance to tell a consultant about his problem. The need to look upon Winti as a cultural system, with religious aspects as well as a system of health care, is also stressed in the articles by I.M. Dorff and C.A. Pengel. The analysis in these articles gives a practical approach toward the subject of health care.

Finally the book focuses more on the problems of understanding Winti within the Dutch context than on the problems of understanding Winti itself. Remarks by O.H. Buyne, a transcultural psychiatrist, draw attention to a tendency toward ethnocentrism in describing "the remote other," namely: "The Surinamer as a human being, is not different from other human beings" (p. 137). This suggests that prejudice about Winti in Dutch society must be immense. One hopes that anthropologists do not share such biases.

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*The Great Father and the Danger : religious cults, material forces, and collective fantasies in the world of the Surinamese Maroons*, by H. U. E. THODEN VAN VELZEN & W. VAN WETERING. Dordrecht, the Netherlands and Providence RI: Foris Publications, 1988. xiv + 451 pp. [Second printing, Leiden: KITLV Press, 1991] (Paper NLG 45.00)

Since African slaves first escaped from seventeenth-century plantations, runaways attempted to found independent black societies in the Americas. Some, like Jamaica's Maroons, lasted for generations, but eventually they all succumbed from military, economic or organizational weaknesses. All, that is, except the "Bush Negro" tribes of Suriname and French Guiana, whose founders apparently succeeded in turning unusual disadvantages into sustaining culture traits.

Early runaways were predominantly young males, necessarily unskilled in many of their African cultures' roles, but superbly conditioned for guerrilla warfare. Efforts at recapturing them failed spectacularly, and their need for women, salt, weapons, and manufactured items caused them to attack and sack outlying plantations. The threat they posed to the colony grew so great that Suriname's governor was empowered to make peace with the three most dangerous groupings.

And so in 1760, a generation before North America's colonists rejected rule by England, the Ndjuka (commonly "Djuka") of Suriname became the first non-autochthonous population in the New World to achieve political independence. Soon followed by the Saramaka and the Matawai coalition, they had forced the colonial government to sign treaties guaranteeing their autonomy, territorial integrity, and trade. These treaties required the "Bush Negroes" to return future runaways, and to suffer a white official, a "post holder," to live among them. They gave access to market in the capital of Paramaribo, wage labor as lumberjacks and boatmen, and an annual "gift" (the Maroons thought of it as tribute) of rum, salt, sugar, cloth, machetes, gunpowder, and other necessities.

In the 1770s a major slave revolt in northeastern Suriname resulted in the founding of three smaller, officially unsanctioned tribes: the Aluku or Boni, the Paramaka, and the Kwinti. Before slavery ended in 1863, the planter society, anticipating a desperate labor shortage, directed Suriname's government to sign new treaties with all six tribes. That failed to save the colony's economy, as did the importation of Chinese, Hindustani, and Javanese workers. While Holland became increasingly preoccupied with its Indonesian opportunities, Suriname lay forgotten. But in its interior, the Bush Negro tribes evolved. In 1961, the Dutch anthropologist A.J.F. Köbben and his students rediscovered these societies, and focused on the oldest and most numerous one, the Ndjuka.

*The Great Father and the Danger* (TGFATD) represents twenty-five years of fieldwork and archival research into Ndjuka political and religious evolution by two of these erstwhile students. Their book opens with a history of marronage, Ndjuka expansion into the coastal terrain (from which successive colonial governments and Suriname's present regime have attempted to oust them), the peace treaties' implications, and interactions with the Western economy.

Any salient explication of Bush Negro viability must focus on the ideological precepts which the culturally-disparate runaways syncretized from their profuse African antecedents. TGFATD explains that traditional Ndjuka cosmology, an elaboration of typical West African structures of greater and lesser deities, is characterized by a "paucity of outspoken relations of authority and dominance" (p. 31). Their creator god does not intervene in human affairs. Great Deities are benevolent unless divine law is violated: Gaan Tata (Great Father) led two of the original Ndjuka clans out of slavery, Na Ogii (the Danger) protected four others. After the Treaty of 1760, the burial of these two obeah at Saanti Goon symbolized peace among the Ndjuka's founding clans.

As in all Bush Negro religions, four pantheons classify most lesser spirits. *Yooka* (ancestors) seek to guide their lineages. *Papa gadu* (reptiles) avenge their deaths in agricultural burning. *Ampuku* (forest spirits) are usually malevolent and vengeful. *Kumanti* (warrior spirits) control medical knowledge. All but the *Kumanti* may bring disaster on a lineage through avenging spirits called *kunu*. TGFATD documents and explains how Ndjuka ideology is inseparable from politics, and offers unsurpassed opportunities for elaboration, innovation, heresy, and reformation.

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Ndjuka villages were virtually independent republics, their matrilineages defined in terms of *kunu* obligations. Society was egalitarian and dominated by Big Men. Religious life was guided by possession mediums and oracles, and most witches burned at the stake had been successful entrepreneurs or shamans. The 1880s brought great changes: many men grew wealthy in river transport and trade with gold miners. But economic differentiation increased insecurity: boatmen feared witches' envy. And insecurity demanded redress: within the decade, the Ndjuka originated religious alternatives.

Surinamese Maroons believe that the dead are oracular and, in the Ashanti tradition, carry corpses on a plank to ask them yes-no questions. During a routine inquest around 1890, the corpse of a woman named Coba disclosed that she had belonged to a witches' coven with branches in every Ndjuka village. In a spontaneous popular uprising, Coba's remains became the carry-oracle for a witchcraft eradication program which eventually dis-

empowered all Ndjuka possession mediums except the *Kumanti's*. Wealthy boatmen legitimated the witch hunt; have-nots (especially older women) were its main suspects.

Through archival archaeology and careful testing of native historians' memories, TGFATD traces the ideological convulsions that followed. Culture change accrues through individual decisions, and the authors present a host of historical characters whose piety, scheming, ambition, and tragic flaws account for the fabulous multiplexity of Ndjuka spiritual life.

Saka, an ambitious medicineman, used the Coba affair to gain vast personal powers. Having dug up amulets of the ancient Gaan Tata (Great Father) obeah at Saanti Goon, he created the Gaan Gadu (Great Deity) oracle, which commanded that henceforth witches would be diagnosed only posthumously. Deceased Ndjuka increasingly proved to be witches; only the wealthy were above such envy. Gaan Gadu's priests gained great power and wealth because only they could purify witches' estates; priests kept half of everything, and all cash. Gaan Gadu constantly monitored people's thoughts and actions for evidence of moral corruption, his priests exhorted constant self-examination. One's first loyalty had to be to this punitive deity rather than to one's particular lineage or clan. (In traditional Bush Negro beliefs the Divine ignores motive, and tolerates or punishes transgression only to protect its own "turf.")

Anake, a despotic Saramaka, organized the first revolt against the Great Deity's rapacious priests. His cargo cult denounced private property, promised immortality, and threatened death. Where Gaan Gadu emphasized self-examination and individual responsibility, Anake released his (mainly female) followers from all moral obligations except obedience to himself. His movement died with him.

Of lasting significance was the revolt by Akule, a kunu medium who became the possession medium for Na Ogii (the Danger), the other obeah buried at Saanti Goon in the 1760s. Where the Gaan Gadu cult defended the interests of the wealthiest segment of society, Akule's ideology gave voice to the envious and the ambitious. Unambiguous distinctions between good and evil are often assumed to occur only in "world religions," and their absence has been proclaimed characteristic of Afro-American belief systems. But "Gaan Gadu's hieratic establishment sharply discriminated between practices and thoughts that were considered 'evil' and those that were 'good': they held a Manichean world view. However, 'blurring' between good and evil certainly manifests itself in the Ampuku spirit cult" (p. 206) which was the basis for Akule's Na Ogii.

The authors document and analyze the century since these events transpired, disclosing an astonishing number of individuals adapting and reject-

ing the protean cults of the Great Father and the Danger out of naked opportunism, social idealism, and even sexual politics. The latest major innovator was Akalali, a prophet possessed by Na Ogii, who destroyed the Gaan Gadu shrines at Saanti Goon. When Gaan Gadu failed to punish Akalali, he forbade the priests to consult their oracle, announced that henceforth all dead would be given honorable burials, and ordered the traditional mourning period cut in half. Soon thereafter he invented an "anti-witchcraft ritual" in which people accused themselves of being witches, only to be "disarmed," purified, and blessed. Eventually he ordered the entire Ndjuka population to be screened for witchcraft, guaranteeing himself opposition from every direction.

Akalali, too, became corrupted. In 1978, hoping to lock up the Ndjuka vote, politicians in Paramaribo deserted him for still another would-be politico-religious leader. Soon Akalali's shrines were destroyed, and in 1979 he fled the region.

The concluding chapter explains Na Ogii and Gaan Gadu as collective fantasies, cultural constructs for comprehending and changing the world. The authoritarian Gaan Gadu cult conceived its deity as a divine disciplinarian in a harsh and dangerous universe. In the competing ideology, "Prophets of Na Ogii impressed on their followers that they may grab what they fancy, and that there is no law of nature or God which forbids them to exploit others" (p. 401). The authors wisely avoid addressing the implications of the fact that both perspectives turned parasitical.

*The Great Father and the Danger* would have benefited greatly from a fold-out map of northeastern Suriname. The sketch maps provided are inadequate: oft-mentioned Surnau Creek and Cormotibo, for example, are nowhere indicated. However, the book can live with that flaw. Highly readable, TGFATD is the most ambitious attempt ever to describe a Maroon society's value systems in terms of historical personages' cultural contexts and decisions. It is absolutely successful.

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*Roosenburg en Mon Bijou: twee Surinaamse plantages, 1720-1870*, by GERT OOSTINDIE. Dordrecht, Netherlands: Foris Publications, 1989. x + 548 pp. (Paper NLG 60.00)

The slave plantation society of Suriname has received scant attention in the rapidly growing literature about slavery in the Western Hemisphere. The fact that the sources as well as the limited published records are mostly in Dutch is no doubt the main reason for this scarcity. Much of the literature on Suriname tends to focus on political history and the past two centuries, while economic realities during the eighteenth century were in fact the basis of Suriname's distinction. Its plantation system is frequently cited as one of the most repressive although it was never examined thoroughly. A scholarly analysis of Suriname's slave plantation system is long overdue and Oostindie's work is a significant step in the right direction.

Oostindie's carefully researched and thoroughly documented book is a microscopic view of Suriname in the 1720-1870 period; it focuses on two plantations, *Roosenburg* and *Mon Bijou*, owned by the Van Sandick family, and for which extensive documentation had been preserved by the Hudig family firm in Rotterdam. The first plantation specialized in sugar production and the second in coffee growing, the two primary agricultural products of colonial Suriname. The whole range of activities at each plantation are separately examined in the first two units of the book. The physical conditions of the plantations, the various stages of growing the crops, the processing of the crops, slave labor and management, and the material conditions and cultural life of the slave community are thoroughly analyzed to the extent that the sources make possible. The links between Suriname and Holland are examined in the third unit, and cover such subjects as financing of the plantation system and interested parties (e.g. owners, financiers, administrators and directors of the plantations). The concluding unit deals with profitability, and it also places the two plantations in the context of Suriname as a whole, and the latter within the context of the Caribbean slave plantation system.

Most of Suriname's plantations were polder works in sea and river flood plains, which provided a source of energy but also demanded labor intensive maintenance. This may have been one of the reasons why in the long run much money was lost on plantations like *Roosenburg* and *Mon Bijou*. Lack of technical innovation, inadequate capital investment, and the absence of a strong West Indian lobby and market protection in the Dutch Republic are also discussed as causes for the negative outcome of these investments.

Owner absenteeism, which started as early 1749 with the Van Sandicks,

also seemed to contribute to the declining profits of the plantations, according to Oostindie, primarily because it complicated communications and decreased managerial competency. Although there were ups and downs and exceptions, one is left with the clear impression that Suriname plantations were bad investments for owners and shareholders in Holland, although local plantation directors and administrators could count on financial benefits.

Oostindie puts much effort into understanding the life and culture of the slaves. He creates a clear picture of the demographics, the age and sex ratios, the social and status distinctions, and the creolization of the slave population. Slave treatment and slave resistance are carefully examined; while there was resistance of various types there were no major slave rebellions and very limited evidence of marronage on these two plantations.

The surviving record has very little to say of the culture of the slaves, because their value was only appreciated by the owners as potential labor. This study does challenge the stereotype of Suriname having the most repressive form of slavery in the Western Hemisphere, a view given currency by nineteenth-century writers. There is no evidence to support that notion, however, and Oostindie suggests that it was quite comparable to other Caribbean slave systems. What was different about Suriname was the extremely low ratio of whites in the colony, which contributed to much fear and suspicion among Europeans. No major slave rebellion ever took place in Suriname, although marronage may well have provided a preferred alternative for defiant slaves.

The only criticism I offer is that the author could have benefited from a reading of *Gouverneurs Journaal* at the National Archives in The Hague, if only for weather patterns. Oostindie's book is an excellent model for similar micro-histories and it will be a cornerstone for any macro-history of Suriname's economic development.

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*Caribbean festival arts: each and every bit of difference*, by JOHN W. NUNLEY & JUDITH BETTELHEIM. Seattle/St. Louis: University of Washington Press / Saint Louis Art Museum, 1989. 217 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

*Caribbean festival arts* (also a catalog for the exhibition at the St. Louis Art Museum curated by John Nunley and Judith Bettelheim) is probably the



closest a reader can get to sensing the exuberance, color, and dedication lavished on celebrations performed in the Caribbean and their diffusions elsewhere, without actually being there. The striking, well-documented photographs give an immediacy to it, and the thoughtful essays are rich with detail. There is historical depth, supported by footnotes, timely etchings and lithographs, which add a welcome dimension. The enigmatic sub-title "*each and every bit of difference*" refers to the mix of peoples and their cultural contributions, or "callaloo." Callaloo, a richly spiced soup from Trinidad with many diverse ingredients, is a metaphor in the Caribbean for the racial diversity of their nations.

Robert Farris Thompson's introduction analyzes the Caribbean festivals by comparing them with performances in West Africa, using the quotes of a Yoruban speaker and a specialist from the Bakongo. The next chapter, jointly written by Bettelheim, Nunley, and Bridges, introduces us to the festival arts, their "creole aesthetic" (p. 35) and the historical background from which they came. Three of the most important festivals, Jonkonnu (Christmas masquerade), Carnival (pre-Lenten), and Hosay (Muslim) are discussed at length in the book. The number of related festivals celebrated throughout the Caribbean (for example Rara in Haiti, explained by Yonkers), and other festivals that flourish in parts of the United States and Europe are, I suspect, a surprising revelation to most readers. Rex Nettleford's final summing up of the economic and political side of the festivals gives an overview of the use of these celebrations in ways that are sometimes other than originally intended. The book includes an index, a much-needed glossary, and a useful map of the Caribbean. A map of West Africa and "Notes about Contributors" would have been welcome.

To this reviewer, it was provocative to see how many similarities there are to Brazilian festivals (Benjamin 1982:199; Brandao 1976:3). Whether the groups are "cabildo/comparsas" (Bettelheim p. 141) in Cuba's Carnival procession with their twirling "farolas" (fig. 116), or participants in Brazilian's "maracatu" with red parasols decorated with lace, mirrors, and constantly turning, "a survival of the old African processions" (Schneider 1992:192), there were resemblances. The King and Queen en route to their coronation in Pernambuco's "maracatu," led by two black dancing girls carrying a "boneca," "calunga" or doll (Benjamin 1982: 199, 206; Schneider 1992:80) who is bowing, dancing, and mutely asking for money, reminds one of the public collections during performance that support the Cuban version (Bettelheim 1989:142). The small orchestra of percussion, drums, "aggogo" in Brazil sounds like the instruments used in Cuba (p. 143). Bettelheim's comment on the "cabildo de nación" (p. 143) reminds one of Brazilian groups who call themselves "nations" (nation of Porto Rico [An-

gola], nation of Combinda [Cabinda] Velha, Nation of Elefante, Nation of crowned Lion) (Cascudo 1979:471, 165). Brazilian participants, king, queen, princes, dames, ambassadors, soldiers, and "indiginas" (Cascudo 1979:472) use feathers, plumed helmets, and beads, which correlates with Thompson's observations (p. 25).

The further research suggested by this handsome publication promises rewards. It reminds us to look at festival arts within the African slave diaspora as a whole, as well as individual locations and separate parts. Like an Impressionist painting, if one looks too closely at the fragments it makes little sense. It is only by stepping back that the whole emerges.

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*Colonial British Caribbean newspapers: a bibliography and directory*, by HOWARD S. PACTOR. Westport CT: Greenwood, 1990. xiii + 144 pp. (Cloth US\$ 45.00)

This compilation, one of a series on Bibliographies and Indexes in World Literature issued by Greenwood Press, aims at providing a comprehensive list of newspapers published in British Caribbean colonies since the eighteenth century, based on a review of the University of Florida's microfilm collection of these colonial journals. It expands the useful list prepared by John Lent in 1976 (oddly, Pactor does not cite this *Caribbean Quarterly* article, instead citing a book by Lent titled *Third World Mass Media and their Search for Modernity*); some 660 items are listed by Pactor while Lent

included about 300. Following Lent – but without explanation – Pactor omits Guyana (British Guiana) and Belize (British Honduras) while including Bermuda.

Pactor's introductory essay is brief (4 pages) and provides little useful information about the history of the press in the colonial Caribbean. Nor is one encouraged by its opening sentence – "The history of the colonial Caribbean is an exciting tale of discovery, piracy, colonialism and conflict" – or its conclusion: "These papers are an important record of the spirit to survive in a region *that seems to provide for needs without work*, yet is prone to the dangers of earthquake, volcanoes, fire, flood, hurricane *and lassitude*" (my italics). Pactor believes that the importance of colonial Caribbean newspapers has "escaped many scholars and researchers," although it is hard to think of a single serious historian writing on the region over the last thirty years who has not used them extensively as a source, but his comments on their value to researchers are banal and simplistic.

The major strength of this book is that it lists a large number of papers in a single reference work and gives information, sometimes quite detailed, about owners and editors, as well as opening and closing dates where these can be known or guessed. Its most significant weakness is that it fails to indicate the present *location* of the items listed (whether the originals or microfilm) in any consistent way. Except for papers from The Bahamas, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Jamaica, there is virtually no information about the local depositories holding the items; thus 84 papers from Trinidad and Tobago are listed without a single indication of where any is held within that country. Why we should be given some (limited) information on local holdings for The Bahamas (Nassau Public Library), Dominica (Court House, Roseau), St. Lucia (Registrar's Office, Castries), and Jamaica (Institute of Jamaica, now National Library of Jamaica), and not for the other islands, is anyone's guess. Moreover, there is very little indication of holdings in Britain, the colonial power. Astonishingly, the single most important collection of British Caribbean colonial papers (originals and microfilm) probably in the world, the British Library newspaper collection at Colindale, London, is identified as a location for only three out of 671 items, all St. Lucian, and receives no mention at all in the introduction. The British Public Record Office, with important holdings (though far less extensive than those of Colindale), is similarly ignored. It is true that Pactor tells us when originals are held by the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester MA, occasionally by other U.S. depositories, and by the Institute of Jamaica in Kingston; and from time to time (not consistently) when microfilm is held at the University of Florida Library. But this information, useful though it is, hardly compensates for erratic or non-existent advice on location within the

islands and in the major British depositories. Have we not a right to expect this from a work titled "a bibliography and directory" of colonial British Caribbean newspapers?

Pactor has done well to extend Lent's original list to over 660 items and to provide material on editors and owners. It may be said, however, that my perusal of the 84 items listed for Trinidad and Tobago (where I have most familiarity with the material) leads me to conclude that omissions and inaccuracies abound. Many of these sins of omission or commission could have been avoided if Pactor had checked his list (derived from his review of the University of Florida microfilm collection) against the holdings in the National Archives of Trinidad and Tobago and the Colindale collection. He omits papers in the National Archives, including the first paper published for East Indians in Trinidad, the *Kohi-Noor* of 1898-99 and the important liberal paper *Reform* of 1894-98, among others. He gets many dates wrong: *Argos* (which he spells *Argus*) existed 1911-20 not 1911-13; *East Indian Weekly* 1928-32, not ?-1922; *Labour Leader* 1922-32, not 1929?; *The People* 1933-55, not 1937; these are all important papers frequently cited in books, articles and theses on Trinidad's history in the first half of the present century. Occasionally he confuses two separate papers with the same name: he lists *Mirror* on p. 111 with dates 1834?-1914 and again on p. 115 as 1899?-1966? In fact, the *Mirror* existed from 1898 to 1914; an entirely separate paper of the same name began at the end of 1963 and survived into 1966 or 1967. On the other hand, *Catholic News*, which is cited in two different places with dates of 1892-1911 and 1959?-? is the same paper; the National Archives holds this journal for 1892-1937, and again 1961-present (irregular issues), and it is still in print. Certainly, no book of this kind will ever appear without some errors and omissions, but many in the present work could quite easily have been avoided with two or three days' work in each of the countries covered.

Pactor's book will be useful to researchers, especially those based in the U.S.A. But with some more time and effort, the author could have produced a much more comprehensive, accurate and user-friendly work of reference. It is not too much to expect from an author who has written a doctoral thesis on the history of the mass media in The Bahamas and a press as scholarly as Greenwood.

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*Annotated bibliography of Puerto Rican bibliographies*, compiled by FAY FOWLIE-FLORES. Westport CT: Greenwood Press, 1990. xxvi + 167 pp. (Cloth US\$ 39.95)

This latest reference work on Puerto Rico represents not only the inaugural volume in Greenwood Press' series of *Bibliographies and indexes in ethnic studies*, but also the first comprehensive bibliography of Puerto Rican bibliographies ever to be published.

Saving scholars and interested laymen from having to sift through hundreds of pages of scattered research, Fowlie-Flores presents a concise, up-to-date bibliographic record of Puerto Rican publications covering the period from 1887 to 1988 and including a few items published in 1989.

The scope of the present volume extends to *General works on Puerto Rico* (131 items), *Special topics* (367 items), and *Puerto Ricans in the United States* (65 items). Entries are numbered consecutively and listed alphabetically by author in each section according to the format set forth in the 13th edition of the *Chicago manual of style* (1982). In case of anonymous or edited works, the entry is by title. Although the primary focus is on Spanish and English-language sources, a few select references to important works written in other languages are also cited. Among the materials covered are books, journals, newspapers, government documents, microforms, pamphlets, theses and dissertations as well as some mimeographed materials.

Three indexes (author, title, subject) facilitate access to all entries, while subject references assure the exact location of any particular work within this framework. Further elaboration of the author index (for instance, cross-references for compound names) would have made this control even more foolproof. Detailed annotations describing each item are also provided. Unfortunately for the US-based researcher, no locations or references to holding libraries are given. This is especially significant in the case of ephemeral materials.

The 19-page introduction to the text presents a fact-filled synopsis of the history and current status of Puerto Rican bibliographic research highlighting some of the basic background tools published to date. These sources, such as Manuel María Sama's groundbreaking *Bibliografía puertorriqueña*, published in 1887, are more fully described in the section on *General works* (pp. 3-35).

The *Special topics* section (pp. 37-120) makes up the bulk of the work and consists of seventeen arbitrarily designated categories ranging (alphabetically) from "Art and music" to "Women." A separate category entitled "Others" lists material, such as statistical and biographical sources, that did not properly fit into any of the others. Wherever the number of works on a

certain topic, such as Indians or Blacks, were so few as not to warrant a separate section, these were interfiled with related items and made accessible, indirectly, through the subject index. Surprisingly, from a librarian's viewpoint, "*Bio-bibliographies*," a term generally used to describe a form subdivision, is listed as a *Special topic*; theses and dissertations (another well-known form subdivision) are only accessible via the subject index.

The last section, being the least emphasized, is devoted to documenting the experiences of Puerto Ricans in the United States, dealing with such specific genres as language, literature, and education.

About the only major problem this reviewer had with the volume is the typeface used for printing, which not only is extremely difficult on the eye but obscures the text as well. The book appears to be computer-produced, and the quality of the type seriously distracts from the enormous amount of research that went into compiling this work.

A minor point: Fowlie-Flores appears unaware of the existence of the second edition of item 2355 (p. 118), the 1979 work by Bertie A. Cohen Stuart entitled *Women in the Caribbean*. In 1985, this work was revised, updated and published as *Women in the Caribbean: a bibliography, part 2*. The omission does raise some doubt as to the overall reliability of Fowlie-Flores' data.

As indicated earlier, the lack of author references in the case of compound names (and most Hispanic names fit into this category) is particularly disturbing in a volume of this nature. Cohen Stuart, for instance, is listed only under Stuart, allowing her work to be overlooked by someone not familiar with the compiler's choice of entry.

Apart from these criticisms, Fowlie-Flores' exhaustive bibliography will be an invaluable tool for scholars, educators, librarians, and other Caribbeanists. It is a worthwhile addition to all research collections, and is highly recommended for all libraries (academic, personal, and institutional) with Latin American collections.

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